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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME X

MONDAY, JANUARY 15, 1917

NUMBER 1

"I thoroughly sympathize with and share the idea upon which City Clubs are based.

"They are based upon the idea that we can not have the sort of country we ought to have unless we have the sort of communities that should exist to make it up; and that a community is not a mere assemblage of persons unrelated to each other, but is a body of persons that have the sort of community of interests which can be served only by community of opinion, only by thorough knowledge, only by co-operative effort and, most of all, only by community of purpose.

"After all, the real problem of this country is to make a community of it, is to get the civic spirit the same from one side of the continent to the other."

PRESIDENT WILSON.

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The quartet, and assisting artists, will be:
HENRI SHOSTAC, First Violin;
JOSEPH SILBERSTEIN, Second Violin;
CAESAR LINDEN, Viola;
ADOLF HOFFMAN, Cello;
Assisted by
MISS DAPHNE HILMERS, Pianiste;
MR. ARTHUR KRAFT, Tenor.

The program will be as follows:

1. QUARTET D MAJOR No. 35.....Haydn
Allegro Moderato.
Adagio Cantabile.
Vivace.
2. QUARTET—(A) ANDANTE CANTABILE.....
.....Tchaikowsky
(B) THE MILLRaff
3. SONGS—
FROM THE LAND OF THE SKY-BLUE
WATERCadman
WIND IN THE TREES.....Thomas
MORNINGSpeaks
4. TRIO—SERENADE (Piano, Violin, Cello).
.....Foerster
Tempo Rubato.
Allegro Molto.
5. QUARTET—F MAJOR (AMERICAN)..Dvorak
Lento.
Finale.

Wednesday, January 17, at Luncheon.
FOREST PRESERVE PROGRESS IN COOK COUNTY.

PETER REINBERG, D. H. PERKINS.

Wednesday, January 31, 8 p. m.—
Ladies' Night.

THIRD "NATIONAL" CONCERT—BOHEMIAN EVENING.

BOHEMIAN WORKMEN'S SINGING SOCIETY.

"Bohemian" Dinner at 6 p. m. \$1.00 per plate.

CLUB NOTES

Tuesday, January 16, 8 p. m.

FIRST "POPULAR" CHAMBER MUSIC
CONCERT—SHOSTAC STRING QUARTET.

This concert, the first in a series under the auspices of the City Club's Music Extension Committee, will be held in the City Club lounge. It is open to the general public—men and women. Admission 15c. (See page 18 for announcement of series.)

The third concert of the National Music series will be given at the City Club on Wednesday evening, January 31, and it will be "all Bohemian."

Two of the concerts of this series, announced in the last issue of the BULLETIN, have duly taken place. The first, the American, concert was given on the evening of November 29, and was in every way successful. The Mendelssohn Club singers rendered a most interesting national program, and the audience—gratifyingly large—was appreciative and enthusiastic. The American dinner, which preceded the concert, contributed to the entire success of the evening.

The second concert—"all German," except that the singers of their own will and motion offered two American songs as encores—was given on the evening of December 12. The Schiller Liedertafel, 35 strong, dined as guests of the Club, and the German dinner that was served elicited their warmest praise and reflected credit on the Club's cuisine. The program was varied and characteristically Teutonic. It delighted the audience, which not only heartily applauded every number, but remained in their seats after the last announced number and "demanded more." The singers cheerfully complied with this genuinely complimentary demand, and the evening closed with much friendly handshaking and congratulations. "Come again," was the general sentiment, for the singers were ardent lovers of music and easily "infected" their auditors with this love of national melody and national art.

There is a treat in store for the Club in the next event in this series. Bohemian music is stirring, quaint, lovely and haunting. The singers, members of the Bohemian Workmen's Singing Society, will be directed by Mr. Houdek, a member of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

A Bohemian dinner, \$1.00 per plate, will be served on that evening. Come to the dinner, if you can. *Come to the concert in any case.* Admission is free, and members, with friends and ladies, are welcome.

If you come to the dinner, please make reservations.

Members bringing guests to the Club are requested to register them in a book provided for the purpose at the door.

Charles T. Hallinan, editorial director of the American Union Against Militarism, addressed the City Club on November 24th on "Compulsory Military Training." An account of Mr. Hallinan's address will be printed in a later issue of the CITY CLUB BULLETIN.

Mr. A. M. Barrett has generously presented the Club with six attractive leather binders for telephone books.

In the report of Mr. John Howatt's address on "Fire Prevention in the Schools," printed in the last CITY CLUB BULLETIN, it was stated that the total fire loss in the schools during the last ten years was approximately \$400,000. This was an error. The fire loss during that period was approximately \$40,000.

Sherman C. Kingsley, director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund for the promotion of open air schools in Chicago, has accepted a position as head of the Cleveland Welfare Council. This is a federation of all the social welfare agencies for the purpose of securing greater co-operation and a more business-like dealing with their problems.

Mr. Kingsley has been a member of the City Club since 1904 and was for a time chairman of its committee on Public Health.

An exchange of privileges has been arranged between the City Club of Chicago and the city clubs mentioned below. Any one of our members visiting one of these clubs may upon presentation of proper credentials have the use of its facilities. The clubs with which such arrangements have been made are the City Clubs of Kansas City, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Milwaukee and Baltimore.

The Philadelphia City Club has just opened an attractive and up-to-date clubhouse.

NO CLUB IN CHICAGO OFFERS SO MANY GOOD THINGS FOR SO SMALL A FEE AS THE CITY CLUB. DO THE FRIEND AT YOUR ELBOW A NEIGHBORLY ACT BY ASKING HIM TO JOIN.

The Directors of the City Club on December 7, 1916, adopted the following amendment to Article I, Section 4 of the by-laws:

"Any member who shall fail to pay his dues for a period of seventy-five days from the first day of the quarter when the same became due and payable, shall thereupon forfeit his membership in the Club.

"The Treasurer shall cause to be sent to each member a bill for dues on the first day of each quarter. At the expiration of 30 days thereafter he shall send a notice to each delinquent that he will be posted on the bulletin board of the Club if his dues are not paid within 15 days thereafter. If any delinquent shall not have paid such dues within said 15 days, his name and the amount due shall thereupon be posted on the bulletin board of the Club. If, at the end of 60 days from the first day of the quarter, the dues of any member shall remain unpaid, a notice shall be sent such delinquent that his membership will be forfeited if the indebtedness is not paid within 15 days from that time.

"The posting and forfeiture of membership hereunder shall be effective automatically without further notice at the expiration of the periods named.

"A member thus forfeiting his membership may be reinstated within three months thereafter by a vote of the Board of Directors and upon payment of all arrears. Any person whose membership shall have been forfeited hereunder shall not be eligible to re-election to membership in the Club until all moneys owing by him to the Club are fully paid."

The members of the Club responded liberally to the call of the House Committee for contributions to the Employees' Christmas Fund. Receipts up to December 23 aggregated somewhat over \$1,600, and the sum of \$1,648 was distributed among the club's employes, all participating in the benefit. About \$250 was received too late for division, and by vote of the directors has been set aside as an employe's Benefit Fund, for emergency use for the benefit of any of its employes, as circumstances may arise, at the discretion of the Board of Di-

rectors. This balance may also be applied on the 1917 Christmas Fund if not previously used.

The following notice was attached to the Christmas Fund checks:

TO CITY CLUB EMPLOYEES:

The accompanying check constitutes your share of the members' Christmas Fund. The House Committee takes pleasure in thus communicating to you the personal appreciation of the members for your services and co-operation in making the Club a success during the past year.

The committee desires to add its own thanks to that of the members and hopes that during 1917 your efforts will aid us in making the City Club still more attractive and useful.

The committee wishes you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

S. BOWLES KING,
M. H. GRASSLY,
JOHN H. R. JAMAR,
CHARLES YEOMANS,
House Committee.

December 24, 1916.

The House Committee takes this opportunity of tendering to the members of the Club the thanks of the employes for their generosity.

The temporary appointment abuse is one of the most common and flagrant in the civil service. Early last year, January 24, 1916, the City Council passed an order, originally suggested by the Civil Service Committee of the City Club, requiring the Civil Service Commission each month to submit a list of temporary appointees appointed during the preceding month, with names, addresses, salaries and qualifications. The Civil Service Commission did not comply with this order.

The Civil Service Committee of the City Club made an investigation of the reasons of the Commission for non-compliance. It was alleged by the Secretary of the Commission:

(1) That it would require the full time of one employe to compile lists of temporary appointees as called for by the resolution, and that the Commission did not have the office force to do this work without abandoning some of its regular duties.

(2) That the City Council has no authority to order the Commission to fur-

nish the Council with monthly lists of all temporary appointees.

(3) That the Commission "questions the motives" of the City Council in requesting this information.

The Committee found in its investigation that department heads are required by statute to notify the Commission in writing of all appointments and that, by a very small amount of additional labor, carbon copies of the lists so submitted could be made for the Council.

Believing that the publicity of temporary appointments would check any tendency toward abuse in such appointments, the Committee transmitted its findings in a letter to the mayor and members of the City Council, November 25, 1916. Following this action, a further order was introduced in the City Council, December 7th, by Alderman Nance and adopted, requiring all heads of departments to submit to the Council carbon copies of the lists of temporary appointees prepared for the Civil Service Commission. The Committee hopes that by this means adequate publicity will be assured.

A very attractive exhibition of oil paintings by Oliver Dennett Grover was on display in the lounge of the City Club from December 4th to 12th. This exhibition was arranged under the auspices of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club.

The following persons have joined the City Club since the last issue of the BULLETIN:

C. W. Bergquist, supervisor, Welfare Work, Western Electric Co.
J. H. Bliss, Jr., treasurer Siegel Cooper & Co.
Otto C. Braese, Dunlop Co., real estate.
O. H. Breidert, Childs & Smith architects.
Charles A. Brown, lawyer, Brown, Hanson & Boettcher.
Lincoln Brown, estate of Wirt Dexter.
Milton A. Brown, lawyer.
Prof. E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago.
Homer C. Dawson, lawyer, Eastman, White & Hawxhurst.
F. R. Dickinson, Peabody, Houghteling & Co.
Jerome O. Eddy, American Steel Foundries.
Walter T. Field, Ginn & Co.
T. E. Flanagan, Lincoln Land & Investment Co.
Frank E. Ford, Excelsior Steel Furnace Co.
Joseph Harris, lawyer, Haight, Brown, Haight & Harris.
C. J. Head, The Year Book Publishers.
Oscar E. Hewitt, Chicago Herald.

Leslie E. Hildreth, Hartford Fire Insurance Co.
Ralph C. Hill, Timroth Teaming Co.
Craig A. Hood, lawyer, mayor Chicago Heights.
H. Newton Hudson, Great Western Smelting & Refining Co.
Robert I. Hunt, Assistant Treasurer of the United States.
John C. Kuhns, Fred Gardner Co., railroad specialties.
Lawrence G. Leopold, Leopold, Solomon & Eisendrath, clothing manufacturers.
Hiram K. Loomis, teacher Harrison Technical High School.
R. C. McAllaster, C., M. & St. P. Railway.
R. Lee Megowen, Block, Megowen & Co., investment securities.
I. Milkewitch, lawyer.
Dr. John M. Murphy, sanitary inspector, Department of Health.
George Neth, Exide Battery Depots, Inc.
Edward J. Noonan, secretary Chicago Railway Terminal Commission.
J. H. Prentiss, stocks and bonds.
R. N. Rhodes, superintendent of schools, Winnetka.
Charles W. Seabury, Marsh & McLennan, insurance.
Victor H. Sears, Crown Dental Laboratory.
R. C. Schaffner, A. G. Becker & Co., commercial paper.
Gilbert M. Smith, New York Life Insurance Co.
Robert R. Stafford, Bellows-Reeve Co., publishers.
Arthur I. Stephens, Marshall Field & Co., retail.
H. L. Stevens, architectural engineer, H. L. Stevens & Co.
Willis E. Thorne, attorney.
J. M. Ullman, Hales & Edwards Co., grain and feeds.
J. C. West, Sullivan Machinery Co.
E. C. Work, Lyon, Gary & Co., timber lands and loans.
J. F. Skinner, of Sears, Roebuck & Co., a member of the City Club since 1911, died January 8, 1916.

DID YOU FORGET?

To mail back the postcard ("First Blaze") the "Camp Fire Committee" of the Club sent you about ten days ago asking where you camp, tramp, fish, hunt, canoe, sail or otherwise spend your vacations?

If you did, hunt up the card and mail it in right away. The Committee needs it in planning the mid-winter evening on "Vacation Days Lived Over Again."

If you can't find your card let us know and we will send you another.

YOUR BUSINESS PARTNER OUGHT TO BE A MEMBER OF THE CITY CLUB.

THE COST OF LIVING AND THE REMEDY

Scientific management in agriculture, with organization to promote efficiency and eliminate waste, was the remedy for the high cost of living suggested by Dr. Charles McCarthy of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau at a meeting at the City Club, November 28th.

Agriculture today, Dr. McCarthy asserted, is a relatively declining industry. Although the population of the United States increased 27.1 per cent between 1901 and 1914, agricultural products increased by smaller percentages, or actually decreased, viz.:

	<i>Per Cent Increase</i>	<i>Per Cent Decrease</i>
Number of Beef Cattle.....	26.9
Number of Milch Cows ...	23.1
Number of Sheep	20.4
Number of Hogs	3.4
Bushels of Wheat	13.5

From 1900 to 1910, Dr. McCarthy pointed out, urban population increased 34.8 per cent and rural population only 11.2 per cent. Higher efficiency and better organization in agriculture were the solutions suggested by Dr. McCarthy to check this apparent decline. He said:

"Efficiency in agriculture must not be merely distributive, but must run through the whole process down to the smallest item in organized production. This can only be done by the most thorough organization of every process and can only be done through organized producers.

"There is a close parallel between organized agriculture and scientific management, or what is known as 'efficiency in business.' Take Denmark—one sees in the whole country south of Copenhagen, great fields with very few fences. These fields are planted in a certain way with certain crops, which are used in feeding cattle. If you look, you will find that everywhere the cattle in this vicinity are the same variety. They look like Jerseys, but are red.

"They are tied in the fields by a certain length of chain. The idea is not to allow the cattle to tramp down the forage and wander around from place to place. They are moved at certain times during the day, and thus gradually

eat their way through the forage in the field. They are not driven or allowed to go to water there as they are in America, but the water is brought to them so that they will always be on the job eating and converting the fodder into milk. They are milked in the fields at certain times. The amount of fodder in the field is carefully calculated. The statistics on each cow are carefully kept so that they can determine minutely how well each pays her way. The milk is carefully brought to the co-operative creameries, which are pretty much of a standard quality. The whole work is treated in a certain kind of a way practically throughout the entire nation. The by-products are fed to pigs and all these pigs are of the same breed. Going with them is the hen, and the hens are standardized by practical and uniform breeding. The marketing of all the eggs is carried on under standardized processes. Of course, the farmer cannot do all this himself, but the government has provided machinery whereby every problem can be solved.

"All over Europe organized buying and selling, organized and standardized business is gradually coming. 'Control boards,' which are merely planning boards, owned by farmers, are seen everywhere. In Germany all such organizations must be in auditing unions. Either these unions must be organized for their own auditing or else the government will come in and audit them. It is very certain that if farmers are going to do this kind of book-keeping and this kind of business, it must be done well, so that this whole agricultural organization work is based upon the highest kind of book-keeping. The government wisely makes proper book-keeping compulsory.

WHAT WOULD HENRY FORD DO WITH AGRICULTURE?

"If Henry Ford were to be given the task of organizing the business of agriculture,—to stop its wastage, reduce its cost, and increase its production,—what would he do? The answer is obvious. He would standardize, systematize, ap-

ply increased capital wisely, give higher inducement to the producers—he would Fordize agriculture, if he wished to see real and long-continued prosperity. Supposing he were given a territory in Wisconsin to work on. He would make a thorough survey. He would find what kind of soil there was, what kind of climate, what markets, and what possibilities for labor conditions. Given these factors and others, he would then proceed to plan the work so that if, for instance, he brought cows upon the land they would be cows which would pay the highest return and which would produce the best milk under certain conditions, and he would then reduce every element in the marketing of milk to a fine point just as it is done in Denmark and other countries.

"Nor could he do this by putting the land into one great vast field, for he would learn that no country has ever existed for a long while in prosperity unless there was a great percentage of land ownership of small or medium-sized farms. His psychology would be wrong if he thought he could make one big factory out of it. He would have to work with all the lessons of humanity before him. *The only way he could make it efficient, permanently, in fact, would be to instruct all the separate land-owners (really small manufacturers), to work together collectively.*

"It is often said that the tractor will mean very large farms. It does not mean any such thing. It probably means that tractors and other machinery will be owned in common and used scientifically in common, with the greatest economy. France by using this method is producing as great a crop today as in 1914 before the war began.

"The same limitations must be placed upon land organization, that we know eventually must come with big factories like Henry Ford's. Henry Ford is but an individual. While he is at the head of the Ford system, he probably will do justice to the working man and will make it profitable for the working man to work for him, but we cannot tell whether or not, when he dies, some other less broadminded and more selfish man will come in and change the whole thing. The same thing is true of the farm. A

system of very large farms cannot exist for a long time. Henry Ford believes in big units. He would learn, however, the disastrous effects of large land ownership, tenantry, etc. He would learn from the lessons of the Russian boyar or the Irish landlord that no nation could live with large areas of land in the hands of a few men. A study of the history of Rome would show that it would not do to have these large areas controlled in this way. Indeed, the same criticism that could be applied to the Ford Works now could be applied with double force in agriculture. When business is so big that it affects the welfare of millions of people, *we cannot have a Marcus Aurelius Ford succeeded by a Commodus Ford.* In agriculture good landlords can never take the place of a large degree of ownership by the cultivators. Good landlordism has always failed in agriculture.

DISTRIBUTIVE WASTE.

"There is still enormous waste in distribution in many products, as well as in ineffective organization of the crop or product and lack of standardization. For example, a man has an apple orchard or a peach orchard. He picks his fruit and dumps it into Chicago, and the place is over-supplied with peaches and apples because of the fact that there has been no organization of the industry, everyone is dumping there. He practically loses his crop. The next year it occurs again. He cuts down the trees. Millions are lost this way every year. It does not pay. Does the consumer *in the end* win by this poor distribution? We will have more and better fruits and more and better products of every other kind when we have a better organization of the industry.

"A system of a great number of very small farms owned by the farmers themselves, combined together, can exist and bring about a great efficiency. This is just the form that is now working out in Europe and also to a great extent in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and it is just the thing that Henry Ford would do if it were his job. It is the solution of the rural problem in America. It is the only sure way consistent with the lasting welfare of the country

by which waste can be eliminated, agriculture be made scientific and the cost of living be effectually reduced.

AN AGRICULTURAL TRUST?

"But, says Mr. Consumer: You are creating here an organization which will be nothing different from a monopoly or trust—an efficient instrument, but a tyrannical and dangerous one perhaps.

"Do we want the marketing of produce, then, on the trust basis? Certainly not. There is no fear. Millions of small owners never have been and never can be combined into a dangerous monopoly. Even in oil, the greatest gain to the producer outside of the monopoly end of it is in the method found to take care of the by-products, etc. Think of the many things that are used,—the pipe lines, the tank cars, etc., etc.—which have reduced the cost of oil so greatly. We use this oil because of the great efficiency of the organization. If monopoly is to come out of agricultural organization, we do not want it. It will be bad for the nation. But there is a great gain from saving and reducing the cost by organization, scientific management, and efficient selling, production, transportation, etc., which we must have. That is what we may expect from organized agriculture.

SAVE A FEW BILLION.

"If the Danish farmers save twenty-eight cents on a dollar by scientific management, reckon up that amount on nine billion dollars worth of agricultural produce. Compare this, then, if you wish, with the million dollars a day that Brandeis said the railroads could save, and which the railroads have said they have saved. Is it worth while?

The packers say that they save everything but the squeal of the pig. Of course what they mean is that they save everything *after the product comes to them*, but what have they done to save the great waste of the product before it has come to them,—the organization in the production end and the transportation end, the obtaining of needed capital at reasonable rates, etc., etc.

"We have just established a Council for National Defense. If that council will read recent events in Europe it will

find that the most potent influence in the reorganization of Russia today is the thirteen million co-operators. It will find that the food prices of England are being regulated by the co-operative wholesale movement. It will find that the 35,000 societies in Germany, organized in great federations, having a turnover of nine billion dollars, is a tremendous factor in the organization of its industries, for war or for peace. It will find France completely organized. *If for national defense alone, we must organize America.*

"Give agriculture a minimum wage and settle the cost of living question. But there are several ways to give a minimum wage. You can give it by law. You do so when you place a tariff on certain goods. You give the protected article a minimum wage. Or you can do it as Henry Ford does it—by greater efficiency, co-ordination, economy and better organization. It is this latter sort of minimum wage that we need for the agricultural industry and every man, woman, and child in it, if we ever expect to check the rising cost of food and raw material.

"If a country has no industries, there is no prosperity. In the end there is no country. If an industry is declining and if the rewards are not sufficient to make it pay to induce people to go into it, it becomes a matter for public alarm. What do we do in America? If an industry is socially valuable, we do not hesitate to subsidize it. John Smith ran a woolen mill in Massachusetts. He soon saw, however, that the cheaper woollens coming from England would destroy his little business, his little village, and throw his people out of work. He appealed for aid. Was it socially desirable that the industry be continued? His neighbors thought "Yes." Therefore, we, his neighbors, the citizens of America, gave him a tariff,—in other words, we gave him a subsidy by chipping in to help. If we find an industry socially, yes fundamentally, valuable, and we find that this industry, which is the one industry that regulates the cost of living, and whose decline endangers the social and economic fabric, is declining, what should we do? I am referring to agriculture.

The statistics I have already given you are my proof. The congestion in the cities furnishes proof, and the entire procession of the girls and boys from the farms proves what I say. The high cost of living today furnishes proof, which cannot be denied. *Agriculture relatively is a declining industry.*

"But I am not asking for a tariff for agriculture,—I am not asking for a subsidy. I am asking for sympathy and advice only and help in organizing the industry so as to eliminate waste, to make it profitable, and to keep the boys and girls on the farm. Even in considering the tariff on manufactured goods, we do not feel as great need of it as we do of high grade organization and in general the highest kind of elimination of waste. Does Henry Ford need a tariff? If all industry in America were organized as carefully as Henry Ford's work, would it need a tariff?

"One way of meeting dumping effectively is to reduce costs of production and cost of living by organization of our great agricultural interests. Henry Ford doesn't stay up nights worrying about the dumping of automobiles into America, and if the food supply is organized half as well as the manufacturer now organizes his business, we may not fear "dumping" or trade war. If we don't we have everything to fear.

So what I am asking for in all this matter is the help of the cities in truly organizing the efficiency of our farms.

THE CITY MAN'S SHARE.

"Consider milk, for instance. Will the consumer allow the producer and the milk dealer to fight it out between themselves and continue to make a contract which would give them both the profit, and yet take it out of the consumer? I believe that both of them should have a good profit, but I do also think that the consumer should see to it that waste is eliminated, that the future supply of milk is not endangered by the decreasing of rural population, but that rather the consumer should aid in every way towards the organization of the business of agriculture and the elimination of waste. He should not stand in the way of, and oppose, such organizations. They are in-

evitable. He should not think merely of his own momentary situation, for, in the end, the situation of the producer and the dealer are the same. In the end the consumers' interests and their interests are the same. He cannot hope to live on the farmers, for they will not be lived upon. They are too intelligent today. Opportunity is too great for bright and educated boys and girls for them to be lived upon. They will go into the city and compete with the people in the city, and the high cost of living will do the rest. *The City Club of Chicago has just as much interest in helping the organization of the farmers who bring the food into Chicago as it has in working for better government within the City of Chicago.*

THE FULL DINNER PAIL.

"Even if Henry Ford or the most skilled and scientific manager in America raises wages, does that insure contented and happy workmen, if the dollar is constantly cut in two? The elimination of waste in food or raw material keeps the dinner pail full more effectively than all the tariffs ever in existence.

"With all these indisputable facts before you, Mr. Employer and Mr. City Man, isn't it clear wisdom to set your great machinery to work to eliminate this long-neglected waste?

"The Farmer is a manufacturer and is entitled to all the help, encouragement, profits and advantages of a manufacturer. A hundred years ago the Industrial Revolution changed the manufacturing industry from small units and hand work to steam-driven compact organisms which are familiar to us all. An agricultural revolution will soon change agriculture from the wasteful, ineffectual, unscientific, disorganized and chaotic industry it is today to something very like the efficiency now known in all other industry. But woe to this country if that terrific change does not bring with it a complete recognition of the facts in history,—that strong sturdy manhood and womanhood can come only and exist through widely extended ownership of the land and profitable scientific and independent but co-ordinated effort upon the part of the millions of owners thereof."

TENANT FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

Professor Ellwood Mead of the University of California, who was retained some years ago by the government of Australia to report upon the problem of land settlement there, addressed the City Club at luncheon December 6th on "The Increase of Tenant Farming in the United States and What to do About it?" He said:

"Every year in the United States a large number of people reach the age when they must choose a profession. It is very important to the country that a considerable number of them should elect to become farmers. It is also very important that those who do so elect should include a large number of intelligent, educated people, for American institutions depend upon the character of the rural population. Farm life must be made such as to attract and hold people of this kind.

"Formerly the attraction which led people to the farms was free public land. Now this free land is gone and in some of our agricultural states we must pay as much per acre as in the densely populated countries of Europe. We must, too, if we purchase land, procure it under harder conditions because we must borrow on shorter-term loans than in those countries. The opportunity for a young man without capital to go on a farm is really less in this country than in Europe.

"Another reason why the farms do not attract so greatly today is that the field of employment in cities is broader than ever before. An increasing number of farmers, including some of the most intelligent and progressive, leave the country and go to the city where their opportunities and advantages are apparently greater. This movement of rural population to the cities has been accompanied by a considerable increase in tenant farming. Tenancy is increasing faster in this country than anywhere else in the world. If it continues we shall have, before long, instead of a population of farm owners one of tenant farmers. In some of the leading farming states today, from forty to fifty-four per cent of the rural population

are tenants and in some of these states the rural population is actually diminishing. In California 300 men own 4,000,000 acres of rich farm land.

"If America is to maintain the character of its rural population, it must take steps to check this trend toward tenant farming and provide conditions under which farm ownership may become characteristic of our rural population.

"In European countries at the beginning of this century it was clearly recognized that, if economic efficiency is to be maintained and developed, there must be a general improvement of the conditions surrounding agriculture. This was recognized particularly in Germany. In that country it was found that at one end of the scale were a wealthy aristocracy with great estates and at the other a discontented mass of farm laborers, owning nothing. To remedy this undesirable situation the government began buying the large estates and subdividing them for small owners. The plan was to have no estate of more than one hundred hectares and purchasers were permitted fifty years in which to pay. Then the government took steps to insure the adoption of all economies and improvements possible on these small farms through better agricultural methods and more efficient organization. By these means Germany has been transformed to a middle-class agricultural community, strongly attached to the government for what it has done for them. The loyalty of this class to the government has undoubtedly done much to back it up in the present war and has helped to support the country when isolated from the world.

"Before I went to Australia to study the land question, I had no conception of the unnecessary hardship, waste and suffering that have occurred through our failure to provide sufficient opportunity for people to settle on the unoccupied lands of the country. In Australia I found that there were great stretches of such unoccupied land. It was easy then to get great areas of land, as much as 1,200 acres, for almost nothing—but

the cost of development was so great as to make them unavailable for cultivation. It was apparent, however, that if the railroads and canals of the country were to become profitable it would be necessary to have a much larger tributary population. The question to be settled was: Should there be a development of large estates with tenant farmers or a great middle class democracy owning their own small farms?

"It was realized that people with little capital would find it difficult to settle on the land because, even if it were given free, much capital would be required to bring it to the producing point. The proposal was made that the government should buy up the large private holdings and turn them into small farms, under such conditions that it would be possible for the occupiers to own their own homes. I accompanied the Minister of Lands to Europe to study the methods adopted there. The results of our study were so conclusive that Parliament passed a law providing for the purchase of estates, their subdivision into small farms and government aid in financing.

"Under this plan, land is available for purchase only to persons who do not own land elsewhere. To prevent speculation, title does not pass for twelve years and within that period purchasers may resell only to the state. Even at the end of the twelve-year period, after title has passed, owners may sell only to persons eligible under the act, those who own no other land. Payment by the purchaser is spread over 36 years.

"The purchase of the large estates by the government in Australia was not forced. The government requested the owners of such estates to submit their lands for sale but applied no compulsion. While, however, there was no official compulsion, public opinion, in many cases exerted a great influence in forcing owners to turn their estates over to the government.

"Valuations for purchase were made by a board on a basis of twenty years' annual profits.

"It was realized by the government that settlers must become producers with the least possible delay, so provisions were made whereby purchasers might

become efficient producers at once. For instance, if the producer were compelled to put up his own house, he would have to spend a part of his capital and his time, which could more profitably be devoted to the improvement of his farm. The government, therefore, decided to build houses and sell them on the installment plan to purchasers of state farm lands. Men have come from the ends of the earth to Australia, taken up one of these small farms and made a living income within thirty days.

"After five years of experiment with this system it has been demonstrated to be thoroughly successful, not only on its own account, but also, by settling up the country and making the canals and railroads self-supporting. Success is further indicated by the fact that purchasers have made payments promptly.

"I would like to see what American democracy could do along these same lines instead of leaving the settlement of our country to greed and blind chance. I don't believe that the reason of our failure is that we do not appreciate efficiency—we do. We have been careless because, until lately, there has been no special reason for our being anything else. Our free lands have been the way out. But this is a situation which has gone by us now and we must take steps looking toward the future.

"The Canadian Commission which went to Australia to study its land settlement policy has recommended the adoption of a similar policy by Canada. No country can properly develop its agricultural institutions until something of this sort is done. In the next ten years, we must change our policy, we must not leave land settlement to mere chance but must adopt a rational scientific policy of state aid."

At the close of his address Prof. Mead was asked his opinion of the relative desirability of long-term leases and sales of state farm land. He said:

"I think that sale is a more satisfactory policy for where the occupier has a freehold he gives better attention to the development of his land. He is more interested in its improvement. Germany tried the leasing system, but found that tenants did not take proper

care of the land and the system was changed."

The following outline of land settlement work undertaken by various foreign governments outside Australia forms part of a report on "Land Settlement in California" prepared for the Commonwealth Club of California by a committee of which Professor Mead was chairman:

"IRELAND—In Ireland 9,000,000 acres of land have been purchased by the British Government since 1903. After purchase, this land was subdivided into small farms, on which the necessary houses and other improvements were erected, and these ready-made farms were then sold, mainly to former tenants, at an average price of about \$50 an acre, the buyer to have sixty-eight years in which to pay for the farm and improvements, with three and one-half per cent interest on deferred payments.

"ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—Just prior to the outbreak of the present war, the Government of Great Britain had agreed to provide a land settlement policy for Scotland similar to that now operating in Ireland. Since the war began a parliamentary commission has been studying the subject in England, with a view to providing, by public purchase and subdivision, farm lands for returning soldiers, these lands to be sold to soldiers on long-time terms, with amortized payments and with low rates of interest.

"Already much has been done in England to provide farms for tenants under the Small Holdings Act, passed in 1908. Under this act estates are being purchased by the county councils, subdivided into small farms and sold or rented to poor people. These farms are first improved by erection of houses and other farm conveniences and sold at a slight increase on the purchase price.

"Settlers are given from thirty to fifty years' time, with interest on deferred payments at four per cent.

"The significant fact is the price at which the government buys this land. In England the average price has been \$160 an acre; in Wales \$105 an acre. For \$150 an acre, highly improved farms are being bought privately within thirty

miles of the great retail markets of London.

"DENMARK—In 1899 the Danish Government, to prevent further and ruinous emigration, began buying and subdividing large estates and selling them to those of its people who had the necessary evidences of character and farming experience and who were able to pay one-tenth of the cost of the land and improvements. The government, according to the last statistics available, has bought this land at an average price of \$71.65 an acre. The settler is given from fifty to seventy-five years in which to repay this price, with an interest rate of three to four per cent and in some instances no payment of interest for the first five years.

"In recent years there has been much private subdivision, carried out under public oversight. Associations formed for this purpose buy large farms and then subdivide and sell them to settlers at prices approved by the government, which guarantees loans made by land banks to assist buyers to complete their payments. The average purchase price of land so bought on the islands was \$102.04 and on the mainland \$61.15 an acre.

"GERMANY—Although for over a century Germany has had an excellent system of rural credits, which enabled the land owner to obtain money at low rates of interest, it did not help the tenant farmer to become a farm owner. In 1900 a law was passed under which the government buys and subdivides estates, selling them to poor tenant farmers on a plan similar to that of Denmark. Between 1909 and 1914 the government had furnished \$170,000,000, which was loaned to the poor farmers to enable them to buy out their landlords and to improve the land and make it productive. This money is loaned to settlers at from three to three and one-half per cent, with fifty-six years to repay.

"While the purchase price of this land is low, averaging less than \$100 an acre, this is not so significant as the low land prices of Ireland and Denmark, because the land bought in Germany is not located in the most highly cultivated sec-

tions of the country. Nevertheless, the low average price, with the favorable conditions of payment and the low rates of interest, have within a brief period made it so easy for German farmers to become land owners at home that it has almost stopped emigration.

"ITALY—The Commission has been unable to get the latest reports on the land settlement operations of the Italian Government, or of the several associations, operating under government direction, which carry on this business on a non-profit seeking basis, but the ability to obtain a loan for a period of seventy-five years at two and one-half per cent interest for making farm improvements, and carrying out irrigation and drainage, has had such valuable results that it has now become a permanent state policy.

"RUSSIA—In no other country has systematic state colonization reached the magnitude that it has attained in recent years in Russia. Between 1906 and 1910 the Peasants' Land Bank, which has an annual government subsidy of \$2,575,000, bought, subdivided and sold to settlers 4,041,789 acres for \$92,700,000 or about \$23 an acre. The maximum size of these farms is fifty-seven acres. Loans are made up to ninety per cent of the value of the land, with interest at four per cent and a payment period varying from thirteen to fifty-five years. This is in addition to the immense colonization operations of the

government in Siberia, where, as stated in Herrick's work on rural credits, 'Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of Russian farmers have acquired millions of acres, worth billions of dollars, by means of money and credit facilities supplied by government.' It is reported that Russia is now making preparations to inaugurate, at the close of the present war, the most liberal and comprehensive system of state aid in land settlement yet undertaken by any country.

"NEW ZEALAND—The reasons for colonization in New Zealand are not unlike those in California. A country of 66,000,000 acres, which is about two-thirds the area of California, has a population of a little over 1,000,000, or about one-third that of this state.

"In order to bring about a more rapid development of the unoccupied land, New Zealand adopted a system of issuing bonds for long periods of years, selling these bonds in London and lending the money to farmers for the purpose of buying land and making improvements on it. In the eight years from 1906 to 1914, the government loaned \$72,726,800. The loans are made at four and one-half per cent interest for terms of payment varying from twenty to thirty-six years. Up to sixty per cent of the value of the property may be borrowed where the settler can give first mortgage security, or sixty per cent of his equity in the property where it is a lease-hold."

The next popular concert by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra will be given at Orchestra Hall, Thursday, February 1, at 8:15. The program will be as follows:

- Overture to "The Merry Wives of Windsor"*Nicolai*
- Andante from Symphony No. 5....*Beethoven*
- Scherzo from Music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream"*Mendelssohn*
- Suite, "American Negro".....*Otterstrom*
- Hungarian Dances (17-21)...*Brahms-Dvorak*
- Præliudium }*Jarnefelt*
- Berceuse }
- (a) Duo for Violin and Violon-
cello }
Messrs. Weisbach & Steindel }*Glazounow*
- (b) Concert Waltz }
- Military Polonaise*Chopin-Thomas*

"The National Board of Fire Underwriters has just published some conclusions reached in reference to the fires in Illinois during 1915. As tabulated these are the percentages:

Strictly preventable	23.4%
Partly preventable	39.4%
Unknown	37.6%

"It is remarked that the unknown causes are probably largely preventable.

"The conclusion is that individual carelessness is the greatest fire hazard. Education seems the only way in which this hazard can be reduced and when the enormous totals of the losses are considered, the education seems fully worth while." — *The American Contractor*, January 6, 1917.

THE CITY AND ITS UTILITIES

Nation-wide combinations of special interests in the public utility field constitute a serious and increasing menace to the public in dealing with public utility problems, according to Morris Llewellyn Cooke, acting director of the Utilities Bureau and former director of Public Works of Philadelphia, who addressed the City Club, October 10, 1916. The Utilities Bureau, which Mr. Cooke represents, has been formed at the instance of American mayors to furnish expert advice on public utility questions to cities.

"This nationalization of the control of local public utility properties by private interests," Mr. Cooke said, "has involved us as a people in new ventures and grave dangers. Invisible government has never planned bolder attacks on our institutions than those that are executed in this field today." He insisted that this movement for the nationalization of private interests must be met by similar organization on the part of the public.

Mr. Cooke warned his hearers of the danger to the public in the growing tendency of teachers in the technical schools to become paid experts of private utilities. He also charged the engineering profession at large with having become "so situated" that it is almost impossible for cities to obtain high-class and dependable engineering advice in utility matters.

At the close of Mr. Cooke's address Mr. J. R. Bibbins answered Mr. Cooke's allegations and later on expanded his statement into a formal reply. Mr. Cooke's address and Mr. Bibbins' reply are printed herewith in part, together with a rejoinder from Mr. Cooke.

"Each of the utility industries," Mr. Cooke said, "is organized on a nation-wide basis and each almost absolutely controls policies within its field. These organizations are openly committed to rates based not only on *cost* of service, but on *value* of service, which of course being interpreted means all the traffic will bear.

"In the National Electric Light Association, with its 14,000 members, we have the very essence of invisible government. Compact as has become the national or-

ganization of the steam railroad interests it bears to the nationalization of the electrical industry about the relation of the ladies' aid to an Italian vendetta. Some of the reasons for this are obvious. For instance we find in steam railroading no such single rallying point as is afforded by the patent rights of the three largest manufacturers of electrical supplies and equipment. Two of these concerns at least freely exchange advantages conferred by individual patents and all three concerns are operated as a single business unit so far as the public is concerned.

"Some of the items in the program of the National Electric Light Association, as announced in a recent prospectus, are:

'The object of the National Electric Light Association is to foster and protect the interests of those engaged in the commercial production of electricity.

'To secure this object it is necessary that all companies, firms and persons interested in the electrical industry be related to each other through the medium of this association.

'Business competitors cannot, with continued safety to themselves, discredit or reduce the profits of those enterprises upon the prosperity of which their own prosperity depends.

'Experiments in the laboratory or workshop . . . cannot remove all impediments to the prosperity of central station companies. The largest in number and the most important in character . . . have not existence in mechanical appliances.

'To hold and completely to occupy the territory within the practicable working area surrounding it, is the right and duty of every central station company.

'The policy of one state, and of the towns within it, in legislating on subjects pertaining to central station interests will affect, favorably or unfavorably, similar interests throughout the country.'

"Time forbids my stopping here and now to elaborate on the methods and mechanisms—some of them open and, frank, others secret and overt, by which the N. E. L. A. seeks to give effect to its announced program.

"Now it must be remembered that for some time past we have been without any protection either of statute or common law against secret intra-state and inter-state plottings as to rates and service. Acts which formerly would have constituted conspiracy in almost every state in the Union before the fed-

eral courts as well now go virtually unpunishable. While it is true that the common law provisions as to such matters does not change and equally true that no laws have been repealed, yet the psychological effect on law officers and courts of our present regulatory statutes is to ignore crimes of this class which heretofore have been considered exceedingly grave. We have put upon regulatory commissions the responsibility for reducing to a minimum the temptation of price-fixing through the establishment of fair rates. But to believe that during this interim while regulation is establishing itself, price-fixing on a national scale is not being practiced is to ignore the facts.

"One cannot avoid at least a passing comment on the growing influence of the utility interests on our educational and technical institutions. We must view very seriously the efforts of the utility interests—much of it undoubtedly unconscious—to influence 'the sources of public education,' as the American Electric Railway Association recently expressed it. Let the American people once discover that serious inroads have been made on our educational system for the purpose of safeguarding in an improper way these interests and the municipal utility will become a storm center.

"We must bear in mind that the old type of 'rough work' is no longer practiced or in demand in the utility field. 'Rough work' has given place to 'flossy stuff.' Everywhere 'class' is demanded and an atmosphere of 'eminent respectability'—sometimes even genuine respectability. I am here simply referring to tendencies and the undoubted drift. We can concede that the motives of individuals are of the best and yet the actions which are their expression may be absolutely against the public interest.

"Some years ago the chief engineer of perhaps the largest gas company in the country was made president of one of the most distinguished technical schools of the country. He also fills the chair of 'engineering economics'—whatever that may mean—at the same school. A very large percentage of the gas engineers of the country are now recruited from the graduating classes of this in-

stitution. For many years past this same engineer and college president has been the leading witness for private gas companies in the most celebrated rate-making cases. That the courts have usually held views opposed to those of this expert undoubtedly has some interest in this connection. This college president has been a consistent lecturer against the public ownership of utilities and a constant advocate of the impeccability and all-round desirability of the private management of utility properties. The catalogue of his activities might be extended. All I want to suggest is that these are significant facts in democracy. Careers such as this one should be as open to review and comment as are those of all other classes of public servants. Again I want to suggest that the frequency with which the deans of engineering and business schools connected with our great college and universities appear as experts in rate cases, and in support of what have very frequently been decided to be fictitious values, is not without social significance. I personally happen to know of a half dozen college deans who might fairly be so classed. In fact a deanship seems to be the proper introduction to the business of rate expert. The frequency with which the representatives of these interests request an opportunity to vise the lectures of our teachers in these matters is menacing.

"Perhaps even more serious is the fact that it is exceedingly difficult—in most situations almost impossible—for our cities to get high class and dependable engineering advice in utility matters. Engineers with established reputations in the electrical field are without exception so far as I have been able to discover, after an extended search, so situated as to make them unavailable as advisers of the public. In gas the situation is almost as acute.

"If our schools and colleges and universities are to be protected against these influences, some defensive step must be taken. A teacher in a college doing outside work for a money compensation should file with the college authorities or some equivalent outside agency a schedule of charges and at least the names of his clients and the period over which his employment continued. It should be pos-

sible for any reputable agency such as the Utilities Bureau or a state commission to secure a full and complete record for every teacher practicing in these public and quasi-public matters. Any college teacher, it seems to me, would be well advised to file once a year a statement as to income from this source. I am not sure but that some day all classes of experts will be compelled by law to file a statement with the commissions, showing the fees received in any given case. We need to know the restraints that are put on teachers who espouse the public side in these utility matters and also the liberties accorded to those who so vehemently and for such high fees lend themselves to the upbuilding of systems of economics which find their only use in the utility field. The public and the profession of teaching are warranted alike in demanding that all possible light be shed on this situation.

"Again the engineering profession will have to take stock and see how far away from former ideals it has been carried through the violation of the tradition that the professional designer of engineering works cannot with propriety build as a contractor a structure for which he drew the specifications. This old-time and valuable safeguard still holds inviolate in architecture. What are the considerations which make it less necessary in engineering?"

"Finally we must recognize in the complete nationalization of the private interests in utility matters a call to the nationalization of the public interest. We will be seriously retarded—if not beaten—unless we meet the private interests on a national basis with such agencies as the Utilities Bureau and the Utilities Magazine constantly striving for more light and seeking for this light the widest distribution through experts and by every other possible avenue of publicity. After all our policies in utility matters will only progress in response to an enlightened and vitalized public opinion. The winning of a few rate cases here and there are but flashes in the pan. The average rate case is a gamble and apt to be won by the biggest and most astute bluffer. There is considerable of an art in planning out these cases and perhaps more especially in

thwarting the schemes of the company to make them cost more money than our cities are usually willing or able to spend.

"Here again the matter of the nationalization of effort comes in. The companies recruit their legal and engineering skill from all over the country. Our cities must do the same. There are not to be found in any one state even—much less in any given locality within a state—the experts needed to win any broadly important rate case. The law end of these cases is so highly specialized that in many cases the regular law officers of a city are not anywhere nearly as well equipped to handle them—and especially if they have no outside advice—as are the attorneys for the companies, coached as they constantly are by specialists in this kind of work. We must plan to mobilize our forces so that we can give to any given borough, town or city absolutely the best services, both legal and engineering, which the country affords.

"We look forward to the day when all these properties in any given locality will be co-ordinated and whether under private or public operation operated as a unit and only for the public good. The baiting—even if successful—of private interests is not one of the aims of democracy. We are only seeking happiness and comfort to our people through the most enlightened utility service."

Mr. Bibbins' reply was as follows:

"At the outset, I desire to draw your attention to the fact that Mr. Cooke's severe arraignment of the technical profession and its commercial associates—the utilities—rests, not so much upon a foundation of fact as upon *personal opinion*. As a practicing engineer, having been directly connected with the investigation of utility problems, and particularly from the viewpoint of the municipality as well as that of the operating corporation, I feel equally justified in expressing an opinion founded on some experience, and one, I hope, possessed of more optimism and insight into the real motives of my fellow man.

"Any one dealing with utility problems cannot afford to prejudice his mind beforehand with visions of 'invisible government, insidious influence, secret plottings, acts of conspiracy now unpunish-

able, etc.' The fundamental assumption of guilt would be a very poor policy for a jurist, and engineers have come to be jurists these days. The way to smoke out conspirators is 'to catch them with the goods on.'

"The author finds great fault with some of the national utility associations for being 'boldly' devoted to their own interests. I believe I am safe in saying that municipalities are not infrequently quite as much the offenders along these lines of self-interest as the corporations they seek to dominate, largely because of the average layman's inability to distinguish between good corporations and bad corporations and his willingness to accept such so-called 'expert advice' as agrees with his point of view, disregarding all other advice, however sane and just it may be.

"To ignore national price-fixing is to ignore the facts,' we are told, and the 'psychological effect' of all this insidious assault on the public is that its officers of law and its courts now 'ignore crimes formerly considered grave.' Mr. Cooke is surely seeing things. Are we not to be congratulated that scientific price-fixing is coming to be nationalized, that through the establishment of public service commissions, the procedure in utility cases is becoming more orderly, the essential facts more easily ascertained and the decisions more thoroughly standardized? I, for one, firmly believe that the 'psychology' of the utility situation (using the author's term) is distinctly improving, not only on the part of the public, but also on that of the corporation.

"In his sweeping charges of the growing mastery of commercialism in our engineering colleges, with all of the suggestions of 'insidious influences' that go with it, Mr. Cooke has wrought his own condemnation. For he has utterly failed to appreciate the fact that the efficiency of a university staff is directly proportional to its ability to come into contact with practical problems in the commercial world. I recently had occasion to ascertain the majority opinion of several thousand graduates of one of the largest American universities, some of them occupying the most honored positions at the command of the engineering

profession. The reply, synthetically speaking, was 'By all means encourage the instructors in outside practical work.' This idea has further crystallized into the widespread demand for industrial research and to bring the college laboratory closer to the industry.

"The assumption of enormous returns for such outside work on the part of the university instructors exhibits entire lack of knowledge of the usual pittance received by such instructors for their work. The veiled allusions to men of such wide reputation, whom we all know, are in fact quite transparent, and to my mind simply indicate in most cases personal bias. It seems to me quite possible that, *as a class*, men who have risen to the high calling of dean of their profession, in constant touch with the most vital sources of human knowledge, should have quite as much right to stand by their guns on engineering and economic principles as he who simply holds opinions differing therefrom.

"The engineering profession is stated to have fallen 'far from its former ideals,' to have 'violated its traditions,' and otherwise retrogressed. Anyone who holds this view has failed to recognize the very widespread influence of the young, educated engineer in raising the standards of business. As Mr. Cooke says, the old 'rough work' is being replaced by 'flossy stuff,' but in quite a different way than he intended to convey—by more efficient methods and through a broader conception of the vocation of an engineer, whose field of usefulness has been increased manyfold. Why then this assumption of degeneration, and the collusion to be inferred from Mr. Cooke's demand that all college deans and instructors file publicly, and with the Utilities Bureau, their fees received on professional work. Why not lawyers and doctors also?

"Now we come to the real 'meat of the cocoanut.' He says:

'It is impossible for cities to get high class and dependable advice on utility matters. Engineers with well established reputations in the electrical field are without exception, so far as I have been able to discover after an extended search, so situated as to make them unavailable as advisors to the public.'

"Verily we have Diogenes again in the flesh. Ten thousand engineers in the profession and none capable of advising the public fairly, with perhaps one or two shining exceptions. (The inference is mine, as Mr. Cooke is too modest.)

"In conclusion I refuse to take the pessimistic stand of Mr. Cooke that all men differing from my opinion should be watched or otherwise excluded from the company of honest men. On the other hand, I am optimistic enough to believe that, *with certain undeniable exceptions*, which will occur as long as man is human and selfish, the great mass of men in the semi-public business of utility management are striving in their own way to reach a happy medium between the demands of both the public and the investor. And I believe that every effort which can be made by the independent engineers towards showing these operators a better and safer course to pursue, how to institute true economies, how to standardize and perfect their system and service, how to make capital work more intensively, will bring an instantaneous response. Every man takes pride in efficiency. Therefore, every public or private agency, including the Utilities Bureau, which is able to assist in stabilizing the utility business, that is, placing it upon a basis of fairness and equity, not only for this but for succeeding generations, should be welcomed."

Mr. Cooke's rejoinder is as follows:

MR. COOKE: "If Mr. Cooke had really said what Mr. Bibbins says he said, I, too, would go after him hammer and tongs. But as he didn't, I am relieved of any necessity for getting excited.

"Our whole educational system is not indicted when we admit—or charge if you like—that a few teachers have been 'planted' at advantageous points. My correspondence would indicate that the

rank and file of the teaching profession welcomes the publication of the truth. Nor is the whole engineering profession placed under the ban when I regretfully admit that 'electrical engineers *with established reputations* are without exception, so far as I have been able to discover, so situated as to be unavailable as advisers of the public.' I first made this statement over two years ago, and while it has frequently been denied—most noisily by employees of the central station interests—no one thus far has been good enough to send me any names of available consultants in this field. Fortunately the cities themselves are beginning to rear a brood of electrical engineers who prefer to practice exclusively on the public side.

"It seems to me that a college president is well advised when he encourages the teaching staff to do outside work. But there are dangers in it which, to be offset, must be recognized. It is on record that one college president, testifying as expert in a rate case, receives \$500 a day for his testimony. One of the deans to whom I referred has an income of over \$25,000 a year—of course only a small part of it coming from his college. I don't begrudge large incomes to college teachers. Perhaps the weakest point in our democratic system is the low money value we place on expert service. But such compensation as those I refer to above are tremendously significant in view of the universally low salaries paid by our colleges.

"Finally the real criticism in such talks as this one seems to lie in the fact that we discuss with the public disagreeable truths. We check baneful influences in education and engineering and elsewhere only as we open the door and let in the light. These are public matters and the public is entitled to have the facts. Publicity! Publicity!! Publicity!!! is the watchword of our modern democracy."

The Third Annual Convention of the Vocational Educational Association of the Middle West will be held at the Auditorium Hotel from Thursday till Saturday, January 18th to 20th. This will be a session of unusual interest to Illinois in view of the possible enactment of new legislation on this subject

at the present session of the General Assembly. Among the subjects discussed will be the national child labor law, the Smith-Hughes bill for Federal aid to vocational education, the proposed bill for vocational education in Illinois, trade agreements, industrial surveys, the views of organized labor.

“POPULAR” CHAMBER MUSIC

A New Enterprise of the City Club's Music Extension Committee

On January 2d the City Club Committee on Music Extension announced a project for “popular” chamber music concerts at “popular” prices. These concerts are to be given at the City Club weekly on Tuesday nights at 8:00 and *are to be open to the general public*—the price of all seats being fifteen cents. The committee hopes thus to stimulate a larger public interest in this more intimate form of musical art, only the lighter and more melodious compositions being played. The announcement reads:

CHAMBER MUSIC ON THE “CIVIC” PLAN: A PROJECT AND AN APPEAL

For two years, or more, the Committee on Music Extension of the City Club has been pondering and discussing the problem of “Chamber Music.” While it rejoices that it has done something to extend and democratize the higher and better orchestral music in Chicago, it has felt that, owing to the existence of our splendid Symphony Orchestra and its earnest desire to reach a larger and larger public, that particular problem was relatively easy. We had the resources and facilities in the city; the question was merely one of using them a little more intensively and extensively. The chamber music problem is much more difficult and complex.

There is at present no regular, permanent chamber music organization in Chicago. There has been, in a literal sense, no progress in the establishment and extension of chamber music, in this city, in a quarter of a century. Several quartets have been organized—only to fail and give up the struggle. The commercial basis has been tried and found wanting. “There is no public for chamber music,” say the discouraged musicians. Lay lovers of chamber music echo the same complaint. Chamber music is supposed to be too technical, too involved, too scientific, too “dry” for the great music loving people. The taste for this form of music is supposed by many to be an acquired, an artificially stimulated taste.

Today, those of us in Chicago who enjoy chamber music depend almost wholly on visiting organizations—the Kneisel Quartet and the Flonzaley Quartet. Admirable organizations both, but they reach only the few. They cannot, in the nature of things, undertake “educational work.” They cannot make their programs popular; they cannot limit themselves to melodious, beautiful, simple and intelligible compositions.

There is every reason to fear—indeed, to believe—that, if no new plan or basis is properly tried, chamber music in Chicago will make as little progress in the next twenty-five years as it has in the last. And what a pity this would be! There is a wealth of beauty, charm, inspiration and melody in chamber music. It is essentially “home music,” intimate music, music that can be produced inexpensively and without the necessity of attracting very large audiences. Not to know and love chamber music is to lose one of the keenest and most accessible joys of the spiritual and artistic life.

But are there alternative ways of extending and fostering chamber music? Is not the commercial basis the only possible one?

These are the questions the City Club Committee on Music Extension has been studying and debating. These are the questions that it now answers with some hope or confidence in a new way. It believes—as several musicians, music critics and music lovers believe with it—that chamber music would have a real chance if it were given, at least for a time, on a “civic” or non-commercial basis, under civic auspices, and at low prices. After much earnest reflection and debate, the committee has decided to make an experiment, to give the civic basis, with all that it implies, a fair trial.

With the approval and consent of the Committee on Public Affairs, as well as of the officers and directors of the Club, the Committee proposes to inaugurate a series of Chamber Music Concerts in the Lounge of the Club's home—a most attractive and appropriate

place for such concerts. The committee has secured the hearty co-operation of a newly organized Chicago Quartet, the Shostac Quartet. Mr. Shostac, formerly of Kansas City, has successfully conducted "civic" orchestral and chamber music concerts for several years, is a trained and gifted musician, and has a deep interest in the peopleization of good music. Associated with him are trained and competent musicians.

This organization has consented to give a series of weekly concerts at the City Club, beginning on Tuesday evening, January 16, and continuing thereafter every Tuesday evening until April or May. The programs will be "popular," but not inartistic. Only good music will be played—the music of masters; but the effort will be to please, interest, delight the audience, rather than to display the musicians' skill or the composers' command of musical form and ingenuity in combining musical themes and phrases. "Beauty" will be the watchword of the series. Not a single composition will be given that is not interesting and pleasing in itself.

The charge for admission has been fixed at 15 cents—and no seats will be sold at higher prices. The concerts will be given, not merely for the benefit of members of the Club and their families and friends, but for the benefit of any and all lovers of chamber music—that is, of the general public. Teachers, music students, and amateur musicians will be especially urged to attend them.

So low a price of admission manifestly will not admit even of fair and reasonable compensation of the musicians. While they have the civic spirit and the right idea of the enterprise, and wish unselfishly to co-operate with the Committee, they justly expect and should receive moderate compensation. Hence it has been decided to make an appeal for contributions in support and "endowment" of the series. Members of the Club as well as non-members who may be in sympathy with the project will be eligible to become contributors to the necessary guarantee fund.

The cordial co-operation of music critics, editorial writers, music teachers and others will be sought and—we doubt not—readily secured, as the project is wholly non-commercial and not one cent of profit is to be realized by the Club. No rent is to be charged for the Lounge, and all incidental services will be rendered gratis.

The success of the series depends on two things—attendance, and sufficient financial backing by cultivated and public-spirited men and women who appreciate the importance and desirability of encouraging the growth and establishment of chamber music in this great city.

THE COMMITTEE,

VICTOR S. YARROS,
Chairman,

CLAYTON F. SUMMY,
Vice-Chairman,

The bill creating a National Park Service, which has been advocated for so many years by persons interested in the development and increased use of the national parks of the country, has been passed and is now a law. The National Park Service is under the Department of the Interior and has supervision of the several national parks and monuments now under the jurisdiction of that department. Its duties are to promote and regulate the use of these parks and monuments by such means

and measures as conform to their fundamental purpose, which under the law is to be to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

An effort is being made at this session of Congress to secure an adequate appropriation.

MEMBERS HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF BUYING CIGARS IN QUANTITY FROM THE CITY CLUB AT REDUCED PRICES. LAST CHRISTMAS THE CLUB DID THE LARGEST BUSINESS IN ITS HISTORY.

FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT IN AN IDLE HOUR—A COLLECTION OF FIFTY BOOKS OF FICTION LOANED BY THE PUBLIC LIBRARY IS IN THE CITY CLUB LOUNGE.

THE JUBILEE SINGERS AND FISK UNIVERSITY

On Friday night, December 8, at the City Club, the Jubilee Singers from Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn., gave a concert of Negro folk songs and readings.

Mr. Isaac Fisher, speaking of Fisk University on this occasion, said:

"I wonder if Americans would accept a cure for tuberculosis if it were discovered by a colored physician. I wonder if, during the recent scourge of infantile paralysis in New York, the mothers of the little ones whose lives were snuffed would have rejected a colored man's remedy for the curse.

"I do not believe so, and yet when we plead for college and professional education for a few exceptional pupils among the colored race, we are often met by the argument that Negroes have no need for such training. But it is not alone a question of the Negro's needs. It is a question of *human* needs. Every colored man trained to the profession of medicine is another fighter enlisted in the war against disease."

Mr. Fisher said that there are two angles from which the question of giving exceptional Negroes college training may be approached—(a) That colored people are to lead, permanently

separate lives in the United States; or, (b) that their lives are to be interwoven into that of all race elements of the Republic. He holds that higher education must be provided for exceptional Negroes, whichever view is taken. If they are to be forced into a life absolutely separate from that of other race elements in America, they must be provided with such educational resources and weapons as will enable them to live completely separate without danger to themselves or their neighbors. This would necessitate the possession of their own professional and industrial leaders.

If they are to live, he said, as all races in America should live, that is, freely contributing their best to the general life, they must be aided and permitted to make their contributions to present-day civilization.

Mr. Fisher is a pupil of the late Dr. Booker T. Washington and is thoroughly in sympathy with that leader's view of education for the masses of the colored people. He said that he is now asking the American people to provide for higher education for the exceptional groups of colored people to supplement the industrial training which Dr. Washington advocated for the masses of the race.

UNIFORM STATE LAWS

The necessity of uniform state laws was the subject of an address at the City Club on Friday, January 5th, by Edwin A. Krauthoff, Chairman of the Committee on Publicity of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

Historically, Mr. Krauthoff pointed out, the United States owes its origin and continuity to the individual states and a proper system of laws will recognize the importance of the states and provide for an efficient exercise of their powers. While urging the necessity of greater uniformity in laws governing the actions of our everyday business and domestic life, he did not urge that these laws should be federalized but

rather that steps should be taken to secure uniformity of state action.

Among the matters reserved to the states for legislation are the regulation of many of the activities of everyday life, ordinary business practices, the laws relating to marriage, divorce, etc. While these are reserved for the state, so interrelated is our business and domestic life that no section of the country is independent of the other. Transportation lines cover many states, yet laws regulating the business of these carriers, bills of lading, warehousing, etc., vary from state to state, causing the utmost confusion. A promissory note which means one thing in one state may mean something very different in other

states. Our laws regulating divorce are so different from state to state that a man may find himself married in one state and not in another.

The question is: How can we establish harmony between the laws of the forty-eight states (53 jurisdictions including the colonies). It was to bring more unity into our system of laws that the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws was organized. This conference is made up of commissioners from various states, some officially appointed as in Illinois, others purely voluntarily. These commissioners, who serve without compensation, come together at their own expense once a year for the purpose of considering uniform laws to be submitted to the various states. The laws are carefully drafted so as to modify existing legislation as little as possible. Persons of special knowledge or interest in the legislature, business men, bankers, railroad men and others, are called in to advise in the drafting of this legis-

lation. When the laws are worked out and adopted by the conference they are submitted to the American Bar Association and with the approval of that body are submitted to the various states for enactment by their legislatures.

The following acts have been approved and adopted in the number of jurisdictions indicated:

	<i>Jurisdictions Where Adopted</i>
Uniform Negotiable Instruments Act..	48
Uniform Sales Act	14
Uniform Warehouse Receipts Act.....	33
Uniform Divorce Act	3
Uniform Bills of Lading Act.....	17
Uniform Stock Transfer Act.....	11
Uniform Family Desertion Act	9
Uniform Probate of Foreign Wills Act	11
Uniform Marriage License Act	0
Uniform Child Labor Law	0
Uniform Marriage Evasion Act	4
Uniform Acknowledgments Act	1
Uniform Partnership Act	3
Uniform Cold Storage Act	1
Uniform Workmen's Compensation Act	1
Uniform Land Registration Act	1
Uniform Foreign Probate Act	0
Uniform Flag Law	0

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN ILLINOIS

The following statement by Prof. James H. Tufts of the social legislation which will probably be presented to the state legislature at its present session was printed in the January issue of the Woman's City Club Bulletin. Prof. Tufts is chairman of the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation.

"Four years ago, representatives of several of the civic and philanthropic agencies of the city decided that much might be saved by combining their efforts so far as legislation was concerned. Duplication of effort confuses and irritates legislators and is in general a conspicuous example of the unintelligent and wasteful methods which these very agencies are seeking to overcome. The session of the legislature four years ago was unfavorable to proper consideration of social legislation. Two measures endorsed by the committee were for the Epileptic Farm Colony and the establishment of an Industrial Wage Loan Association. The campaign for both these measures, however, had been well planned before the organization of the com-

mittee and the measures would have been passed without its aid.

"Two years ago the committee actively supported five measures which became laws: the vital statistics bill, the bill providing for the commitment and care of feeble-minded persons, the bill compelling a more adequate support of families by husbands and fathers, the bill reorganizing the public employment offices of the State, and the bill making more adequate provision for adoption of children.

"The above measures were nearly all of a fundamental sort. The single bill compelling the support of families has saved the charitable agencies during the past year since it has been in operation many thousands of dollars, and has in itself more than justified all the expenditure of time and money which have gone into the work of the committee. The bill for the commitment of feeble-minded, towards the passage of which your committee was able to give aid, is likely to prove its value increasingly, and the same is true of the vital statistics

bill. The public employment agencies are doing their work more efficiently.

"Coming to 1917, an introductory explanation may be in order as to the incomplete status of several of the measures under consideration. The directors of the committee have not for the most part initiated measures. The need for some new piece of legislation is always felt first by the society or agency dealing with those people who suffer the need. That agency generally begins the discussion and preparation of a bill to meet the situation. This bill when presented to your committee is taken up, submitted to legal experts and considered in connection with other similar measures that may be proposed by other organizations. It is natural that initiation and preparation of measures is stimulated by the approach of a legislative session and dies down after the close of the session.

"(1) One great cause of hardship is the exorbitant interest charged by so-called loan sharks to persons seeking small loans. These persons are generally, in the first instance at any rate, not objects of charity. They are temporarily short of money because of illness, or the seasonal character of their work, the need of purchasing clothing or furniture, or for some other emergency. They have no credit at the banks and the banks will not bother with petty loans of twenty-five or fifty dollars. A large extra legal business has sprung up. Interest at rates varying from 40 to 100 per cent a month is charged. A short time ago it was computed that in New York City, the amount of usury collected was 'twice as much as that required to support the Charity Organization Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the United Hebrew Charities, and the Bellevue Allied Hospitals.' The Department of Public Welfare of the City of Chicago has made an investigation, just published, of the Loan Shark in Chicago. An extremely valuable and admirable report has been issued, showing the conditions here and giving a conspectus of legislation in other States. Under the auspices of Mrs. Rowe, Commissioner, a committee of experts has prepared a bill using for its basis a measure prepared by Mr.

Arthur H. Ham, director of the Division of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, who has given long attention to the problem and has prepared this measure for introduction into many States, thus giving a uniform law. Mr. Ham has met with this committee and given it the benefit of his experience. The bill provides for licensing of parties who make loans under the amount of three hundred dollars, placing them under State supervision, fixing the rate of interest at such a figure as to enable them to do business, at the same time cutting off the highly exorbitant rates and many of the objectionable practices now in vogue. This bill will, I think, undoubtedly receive the support of the Committee for Social Legislation. It is highly to the credit of the Department of Public Welfare that the investigation and preparation of the bill has been carried forward in so thoroughly competent a manner.

"(2) A recent report on the condition of jails in the State by Miss Hinrichsen, investigator for the State Board of Charities, has led to a pamphlet by Miss Edith Abbott, setting forth the need for a different method of caring for those now committed to jails and a more humane provision for those now held in jails awaiting trial. A State Farm is the method employed by Massachusetts and Indiana for the detention of those committed for misdemeanors. This is likely to return these people to society in better condition than they came, while the jail is almost certain to return them in worse condition. The abominable condition of jails in many counties of the State and the difficulty of exercising adequate control over so many institutions leads to the conviction that a State Farm is the best solution for part of the present occupants of jails. In this connection the bond issue of \$200,000.00 approved by the voters of Chicago for a similar purpose is now unavailable and steps are to be taken for further legislation, making it possible to use this for the purpose for which it was designed.

"(3) A very important piece of legislation is the codification and revision of all legislation referring to children.

This, under the title of, "The Children's Code," has been undertaken in some other States and a special committee is now at work considering the need and material for such a codification. Under the provisions of such a code would fall better provision for the illegitimate child. At present the provision is disgracefully inadequate even where fatherhood has been properly established by jury. Two years ago a measure prepared by Judge Goodnow, providing for the support of such children, was before your committee, but on account of the complexity of the subject, no action was taken. Your committee, however, requested Miss Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau, to make an investigation for the purpose of planning uniform state laws on the subject. Miss Lathrop authorized Professor Freund of your committee to make this investigation and work has been going on which it is hoped may be valuable for legislation.

"(4) The Trade Union League has in preparation a bill providing for an eight-hour day for women in the State. This has not come before the committee for approval, but will be considered soon.

"(5) An evil which has been brought to the attention of the committee, which seemed appropriate for consideration by such a general body rather than by any particular agency, is the lack of adequate provision for the chartering or licensing of agencies which make public appeals for benevolent contributions. Some agencies of a very dubious sort and some apparently designed for purely selfish purposes apply for charters and there is at present no adequate method for investigating and passing upon the bona-fide character of these applicants. Many, of course, solicit without any charter whatever. It is a difficult matter to guard against the fraudulent and at the same time not discourage worthy causes. A bill is under consideration to provide for the better regulation of such bodies.

(6) Finally, the subject of health insurance is under active consideration. This is by far the largest and most complicated matter which has come before your committee since its organization. The American Association for Labor

Legislation called a conference on social legislation about three years ago in Chicago. Since then, a committee has been actively at work, meeting in New York, formulating a model bill which is to be introduced this year into a number of State legislatures. Legislation providing for cash benefits, for suitable medical care for wage workers during illness, with provisions for maternity benefits for the family of the worker and for death benefits has been in force in Europe for many years. It is advocated in this country, not only by the American Association for Labor Legislation, but in the Public Health Bulletin No. 76, prepared by the Federal Government at Washington and obtainable for ten cents from the Superintendent of Public Documents. The great factors in the situation are two: first, a large proportion of wage workers now receive no adequate medical attendance in illness and are frequently driven to charity by such calamities. The other great factor is that a properly drawn measure for health insurance ought to prove as effective for preventing illness as the Workmen's Compensation Bills have for the campaign of safety first. The so-called 'model bill' provides for the compulsory insurance of all wage workers receiving less than \$100.00 a month. The insurance may be carried by local organizations or under proper provisions by such organizations as trade unions or fraternal orders, providing these are not conducted for profit. But it is apparent that the compulsory feature and discrimination against commercial insurance companies will excite opposition. Employers may at first look askance at a measure which provides for a contribution of two-fifths of the total fund by employers. Workmen may object to providing another two-fifths, and the State may object to providing one-fifth. But your committee believes thoroughly that the present medical care of the wage worker is not adequate and that some measures ought to be taken for what is called by the Surgeon General of the United States 'the next step forward.' Probably a considerable period of discussion and education will be necessary before there will be a consensus of opinion."

LIBRARY EXTENSION FOR CHICAGO

The Board of Trustees of the Chicago Public Library have approved a plan for a radical extension of library facilities throughout the city. The carrying out of this project is contingent upon the approval by the voters of a bond issue of \$500,000 at the next municipal election. The expenditures under this plan would cover a period of five years.

Under the reorganization program of the Library Board there would be established:

1. "*Five Regional Branches*, situated in Ravenswood, Garfield Park, the Loop, Englewood, South Chicago.
2. "*Seventy Auxiliary or Local Branches*, equally distributed where most needed, and where largest groups of population live. There are now 35, unequally distributed.
3. "*Sixty Deposit Stations*, in more sparsely settled sections, or as many more as may be necessary to supply places not otherwise served. There are now 28.
4. "*One hundred Industrial and Commercial Branches*, or as many more as business concerns are willing to equip and maintain. There are now 21.
5. "*Twenty-two High School Branches*, if suitable quarters are provided by the school authorities. There are now 5.
6. "*Three thousand Class Room Libraries*, or as many as may be needed (traveling collections of 50 volumes each, supervised by teachers and exchanged twice a year). There are now 848.
7. "*One hundred Special Deposits* (or more, if needed), supplied to Y. M. C. A. houses, Eleanor Clubs, organizations of foreign groups, women's clubs, institutions, special groups such as telegraph messengers, postal clerks, etc. These deposits are traveling collections of 50 to 100 volumes, exchanged monthly, bi-monthly or quarterly. There are now 29.

"Each Regional Branch will have:

A floating collection of 50,000 volumes for use of auxiliary or local branches, as

needed, through daily delivery service.

A reference collection suitably balanced, for use of research workers, students, business men, women's clubs, etc., supplemented by daily delivery from the Main Library of special material not duplicated in the regional branches.

Trained assistants to conduct story hours, reference librarians to assist club workers, teachers, etc.

Suitable collections of books in foreign languages, for redistribution to local centers where foreign groups are located.

Automobile delivery truck, with garage for housing, to distribute books daily in agencies of the district.

"Some striking improvements, possible through the reorganization plan, are:

"The Chicago Public Library will be in a position to serve well 700,000 persons who now get no library service by reason of distance or are but indifferently served.

"A maximum travel of 32 miles to consult special reference material or to draw music scores for home use will be reduced to an average of less than one mile.

"Automobile delivery routes will be reduced from 32 miles per round trip to six miles, enabling a unit delivery five times greater than now, and without additional cost.

"Library service within walking distance of home for every person in the city of Chicago who can read or wants to use books, in place of being compelled to ride on street cars forth and back, an average of 10 miles for more than one-half the population."

THE TELEPHONE IS A HANDY WAY TO TELL YOUR FRIENDS THEY OUGHT TO JOIN THE CITY CLUB. FIVE MINUTES TALK AND A FOLLOW-UP LETTER MEANS A NEW MEMBER.

The dining rooms of the club are available for public or private meetings or dinners, ranging from six to three hundred people. Outside parties may secure these privileges on recommendation of a club member. The manager will be pleased to submit menu and prices.

THE STRENGTH OF THE CITY CLUB IN THE COMMUNITY IS IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS. GET YOUR FRIENDS TO JOIN.

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME X

MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1917

NUMBER 2



BLOSSOM TIME.

In the woods near Riverside. A tract approved for purchase by the Forest Preserve Commission.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 8 P. M.

THIRD POPULAR CHAMBER CONCERT—SHOSTAC
STRING QUARTET.

Henry Shostac, First Violin;

Joseph Silberstein, Second Violin;

Caeser Linder, Viola;

Adolph Hoffman, Cello;

Assisted by

Miss Miriam Fuerstenberg, Pianiste;

Mr. Grant Kimball, Tenor.

This series of concerts is under the auspices of the City Club's Music Extension Committee. The concerts are held in the City Club Lounge and are open to the general public—men and women—admission 15c.

PROGRAM

1. Quartet—(New World).....*Dvorak*
1st Movement.
2. Songs—Selected.
3. Quartet (A) To a Wild Rose.....
.....*MacDowelt-Hoffman*
(B) Moment Musicale....*Schubert*
(C) Menuetto*Mozart*

4. Trio for Piano, Violin and Cello...

..... *Mendelssohn*

Andante tranquillo.

Scherzo.

5. Quartet—Novelletes..... *Glazounov*

(A) Interludium in modo antico.

(B) Orientale.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 8 P. M.—LADIES'
NIGHT.

THIRD "NATIONAL" CONCERT—BOHEMIAN
EVENING—BOHEMIAN WORKMEN'S SING-
ING SOCIETY.

"Bohemian" Dinner at 6 p. m. \$1.00 per
plate.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY, 8,—“COLLEGE NIGHT”.

Members of the City Club and non-members
who are alumni or former students of mid-
western colleges are invited.

Dinner at 6:30 p. m. \$1.00 per plate. Please
reserve in advance.

CLUB NOTES

The third concert of the National Music series will be given at the City Club on Wednesday evening, January 31, and it will be "all Bohemian." This event will be a real treat. Bohemian music is stirring, quaint, lovely and haunting. The singers, members of the Bohemian Workmen's Singing Society, will be directed by Mr. Houdek, a member of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

A Bohemian dinner, \$1.00 per plate, will be served on that evening. Come to the dinner, if you can. *Come to the concert in any case.* Admission is free, and members, with friends and ladies, are welcome.

If you come to the dinner, please make reservations.

The Directors regret to announce the resignation of Mr. M. H. Grassly from the House Committee. Mr. Grassly has accepted a position in Springfield, Mass., with the Strathmore Paper Company.

Reciprocal relations have been established between the City Club of Chicago and the City Club of Cincinnati. Any of our members who visit Cincinnati will, on the presentation of proper credentials from our office, be accorded the privileges of the City Club there.

The following persons have joined the Club since January 15:

Frank B. Bowes, Vice-President, Illinois Central Railroad.

Lawrence A. Cohen, Lawyer.

Roy J. Cook, Advertising Manager, Cable Piano Company.

Charles J. Moore, L. A. Calkins & Company (Stock and Grain Brokers).

Theodore T. Redington, Provident Life & Trust Company.

Thomas W. Winston, U. S. Army, retired.

STUDIES IN PLANNING—"A very remarkable and unique book has just been published by the University of Chicago of Chicago Press in a selection of twenty-seven plans, which had been submitted in a competition for the laying out of a section of the City of Chicago. Each of the plans, which are beautifully colored, is explained by the designer in detail and a very instructive volume is the result, though how far such elaborate plans are commercially practicable would be hard to say. But the City Club of

Chicago, institutor of the competition, is composed of business men not given to dreams even in town planning and as the published plans were selected from a large number, a perusal of them is well worth the time of any one studying the city beautiful. In all there are seventy-five colored plans and illustrations and halftones—and the price (\$3) is very low considering the quality of the paper and binding and reading matter. The work was edited by A. B. Yeomans, landscape architect."—*Canadian Municipal Journal*, January, 1917.

Civil Service News on January 11th, referring to the action of the City Club Committee on Civil Service, calling the City Council's attention to the Civil Service Commission's failure to comply with the Council's order requiring the monthly publication of the list of temporary appointees and the subsequent action of the City Council ordering the transmission of such lists by the department heads, said:

"When an organization as representative of the good citizenship of Chicago as the Chicago City Club, acting through a duly constituted committee, takes up the demand that the City Civil Service Commission comply with the resolution adopted some time ago by the City Council for monthly reports of the city's lists of temporary appointees, it cannot be dismissed with a mere attack upon the motives actuating it. Some statement must be given of the reasons causing city officials to withhold reports on the names and qualifications of those put in city positions without a merit test.

"Attempts to prevent full publicity in public matters nearly always prove boomerangs. Suspicions of wrongdoing which fatten upon efforts at concealment usually outgrow any embarrassing fact which might be brought out, while many are ready to interpret a shrinking from the light as a confession of wrongdoing.

"Now that the matter has been put squarely before the mayor he would do well to order the production of the reports on temporary appointments called for in the resolution of the City Council."

While there has been much criticism of the City Civil Service Commission for the large number of temporary appointments it has approved, the record of Mr. Fred G. Heuchling, Superintendent of Employment of the West Parks, in keeping down the number of temporary appointments is being highly praised.

Of Mr. Heuchling's work, the West Park Commission, in its annual report for 1916, just issued, says in part:

"The report of the superintendent of employment shows that the resignations for the year, taken in conjunction with the number of eligible persons who refused to accept appointments or waived them, marked the past year as an unprecedented one in so far as the difficulty of keeping positions filled is concerned.

"In spite of these trying conditions the superintendent of employment reduced the number of authorities granted to fifty-two, which is ten per cent less than the number of grants for the year 1915. These fifty-two grants authorized the temporary filling of eighty-three positions, seventeen of which were filled by persons obtained from eligible lists.

"The average duration of employment under temporary authority was forty-one days and the average amount of wages paid in each temporary position was \$97.08. The total wages paid to temporary employes was \$8,057.22 which amounts to nine-tenths of one per cent of the total payrolls of the year."

As a side line, Mr. Heuchling directs the work of the City Club Committee on Streets and Alleys as its chairman.

On December 30th last, the thirteenth anniversary of the Iroquois fire, during the matinee performance of the Chicago theaters, a sub-committee of the City Club Committee on Accident Prevention visited each of the fourteen loop theaters and inspected the main exits. These were found satisfactory and unlocked in all the theaters except two, in which some exits were found locked or obstructed.

The manager of each of the theaters visited was advised as to the condition of exits in his theater and from replies received the committee believes that more care will be observed by all theaters in the future in respect to this matter.

The City Club Committee on Civil Service desires to expand its membership. Members of the Club who are interested in this subject are invited to volunteer for service on this important committee.

The Music Extension Committee of the Club feels highly gratified at the success so far of the popular chamber music concerts held under the auspices of the committee on Tuesday nights in the Club Lounge. Two of these concerts have been held so far. The attendance was

good and the music was entertaining and well played, as was evidenced by the liberal applause. Next concert, Tuesday, January 30, 8:00 P. M.

"LADIES' NIGHT."

Every night is "Ladies' Night" at the City Club. Ladies accompanied by members may enjoy the privileges of the clubhouse from four o'clock on every day that the club is open. This reminder is made because occasionally members do not seem to be aware that they can bring ladies to the club to dinner.

The club serves an excellent table d'hôte dinner for 75 cents, and the number of members and their friends who find it a pleasant place to dine before attending the theater or lecture is constantly growing.

A brass rail is to be set in the dining room between the doors to the kitchen, in order to protect passers from injury by the swinging doors.

The attendance at the luncheon talks by Mr. Roger W. Babson on January 3 and by Capt. Ian Hey Beith, on January 10 was unusually large. Nearly 400 people lunched at the club upon the latter occasion.

The City Club now has a resident notary public. Mr. Carl Johnson has recently secured a commission, and will be pleased to serve members who have acknowledgements to be taken, etc. He may be found in the office on the fourth floor.

Walter Farleigh Dodd, associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and a member of the City Club, has been appointed by Governor Lowden as secretary of the Legislative Reference Bureau. Mr. Dodd is the author of "Modern Constitutions," published in 1909, a book on the "Government of the District of Columbia" in 1909, and a treatise on the "Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions," published in 1910. He has been a liberal contributor to legal and technical journals. Mr. Dodd will assume his duties immediately.

The Water Supply Committee of the City Club, January 14, presented to the Finance Committee of the City Council a communication urging a liberal appropriation for the installation of meters in the water services throughout Chicago. This communication was in support of recommendations in an earlier report by the committee on the subject of Water Waste in Chicago—a report which urged that metering should be widely undertaken to reduce the waste of water and thereby extend the usefulness of the present water distribution of the city. “Unless metering is extended at an early date,” the committee said, “enormous expenditures will be required in the near future for increased water works plants to meet the growth of Chicago.”

The committee urged an appropriation from the Water Fund, as requested by the City Engineer, of \$68,500 for the purchase of meters and \$60,000 additional for the installation of meter connections.

Great credit is due the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club for its six-year activity in connection with the billboard ordinance sustained within the last few weeks by the United States Supreme Court. The ordinance was framed by representatives of the committee in conjunction with other organizations in 1910 and passed by the City Council. When it became evident that the ordinance was not being enforced, the committee gathered evidence and by publicity through the papers and otherwise secured its enforcements by an unwilling building commissioner. Later, when it was contested in the courts, the committee assisted the Corporation Counsel in the defense of the case.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court is of great importance in defining the police powers of cities in reference to this subject. The decision makes it possible in the future to prohibit billboards entirely in residence sections of the city.

It is reviewed elsewhere in this issue by Mr. Everett L. Millard, chairman of the Committee on Municipal Art of the City Club.

THE SUPREME COURT'S BILLBOARD DECISION

EVERETT L. MILLARD, Chairman City Club Committee on Municipal Art

The United States Supreme Court, by decision handed down January 15 last, has sustained the Illinois Supreme Court in holding valid the Chicago billboard ordinance, in its requirement of frontage consents of the owners of a majority of the frontage, for the erection of billboards in blocks in which half the buildings are used for residence purposes. This decision is of immense importance to the City of Chicago, not only in handling billboards, but in sustaining the frontage consent provisions in garage, saloon, blacksmith shop and other ordinances. It is also a national precedent, and finally validates a definite and practical method of prohibiting or regulating billboards, at any rate in the residence districts of our cities.

As a necessary basis for requirement of frontage consents, power is lodged in the City Council absolutely to prohibit boards in districts where practical objections to their erection can be shown, such

as those introduced in evidence in this case. Some of these objections are cited by the court, and the following quotation from the decision gives the attitude of the court*:

It is settled for this Court by the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois that the ordinance assailed is within the scope of the power conferred on the City of Chicago by the Legislature, that it is to be treated as proceeding from the law-making power of the State, and that, therefore, it is a valid ordinance unless the record shows it to be clearly unreasonable and arbitrary.

Upon the question of the reasonableness of the ordinance, much evidence was introduced upon the trial of the case, from which the Supreme Court finds that fires had been started in the accumulation of combustible material which gathered about such billboards; that offensive and insanitary accumulations are habitually found about them, and that they afford a convenient concealment and shield for immoral practices, and for loiterers and criminals. As

*Citation of cases omitted.

bearing upon the limitation of the requirement of the section to blocks used exclusively for residence purposes: the court finds that the trial court erroneously refused to allow testimony to be introduced tending to show that residence sections of the city did not have as full police or fire protection as other sections have, and that the streets of such sections are more frequented by unprotected women and children than, and are not so well lighted as, other sections of the city are, and that most of the crimes against women and children are offenses against their persons.

Neglecting the testimony which was excluded by the trial court, there remains sufficient to convincingly show the propriety of putting billboards, as distinguished from buildings and fences, in a class by themselves, *and to justify the prohibition against their erection in residence districts of a city in the interest of the safety, morality, health and decency of the community.*

The claim is palpably frivolous that the validity of the ordinance is impaired by the provision that such billboards may be erected in such districts as are described if the consent in writing is obtained of the owners of a majority of the frontage on both sides of the street in any block in which such billboard is to be erected. The plaintiff in error cannot be injured, but obviously may be benefited by this provision, for without it the prohibition of the erection of such billboards in such residence sections is absolute. He who is not injured by the operation of a law or ordinance cannot be said to be deprived by it of either constitutional right or of property. To this we may add that such a reference to a neighborhood of the propriety of having carried on within it trades or occupations, which are properly the subject of regulation in the exercise of the police power, is not uncommon in laws which have been sustained against every possible claim of unconstitutionality, such as the right to maintain saloons, and as to the location of garages. Such treatment is plainly applicable to offensive structures.

The principles governing the exercise of the police power have received such frequent application and have been so elaborated upon in recent decisions of this Court, concluding with *Armour & Company v. North Dakota*, that further discussion of them would not be profitable, especially in a case falling as clearly as this one does within their scope. We therefore content ourselves with saying that while this Court has refrained from any attempt to define with precision the limits of the police power, yet its disposition is to favor the validity of laws relating to matters completely within the territory of the State enacting them, and it so reluctantly disagrees with the local legislative authority, primarily the judge of the public welfare, especially when its action is approved by the highest court of the State whose people are directly concerned, that it will interfere with the action of such authority only when it is plain and

palpable that it has no real or substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or to the general welfare. And this, for the reasons stated cannot be said of the ordinance which we have here."

The case was argued before the Supreme Court by First Assistant Corporation Counsel Chester Cleveland, and by the special counsel for the city, Mr. Loring R. Hoover, to whom much credit is due for their able presentation of the case. To Mr. Hoover is also due special acknowledgment for the industry and skill displayed by him in handling the case from the beginning, in the trial in the lower court, and in the argument before the Illinois Supreme Court. These attorneys, with the chairman of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club, have had a conference with Building Commissioner Bostrom, since the decision, from which it appeared that as soon as the mandate of the Supreme Court is handed down, about the middle of February next, the Building Commissioner will proceed at once to enforce the ordinance. His records show four or five hundred boards erected in residence districts without frontage consents, since the ordinance was passed in 1910, all of which will have to be torn down, unless consents are now obtained, and there are doubtless other boards not shown on his records. Existing consents must be carefully scrutinized, to ascertain their validity, and it is possible the billboard companies will contend that the ordinance is not retroactive, to apply to boards erected prior to January 1, 1911, the date the ordinance went into force. In that case they will also doubtless contend that nearly all their boards are of that age. However, we believe that the ordinance is meant to be retroactive, as the common council undoubtedly had the power to make it, and that if there is any doubt on the subject the billboard companies will be put to the necessity of seeking to enjoin the city from ordering the removal of boards built prior to the passage of the ordinance. Any doubt as to this effect of the ordinance should be resolved in favor of the city, in the interpretation of the ordinance by the Building Commissioner, and doubtless will be.

The history of this case vividly illustrates certain aspects of municipal government and will be of interest to

members of the City Club. Representatives of the Municipal Art Committee and of other civic organizations practically drew this ordinance, because a draft submitted by one of the assistant corporation counsels to the Building Committee in 1910 contained provisions which they believed invalid, as had been the main provisions of all previous ordinances on billboard regulation in Chicago. With the aid of Alderman Merriam, they secured the recommendation by the Building Committee of their draft, in preference to that of the Corporation Counsel's office, and against their protest.

About a year after its passage, the City Club Committee, upon careful investigation, found that the ordinance was not being enforced as to restrictions of boards in residence districts, and were informed by the then Building Commissioner that the law was invalid, and if the committee would not "butt in," he would get all he could get legally by amicable agreement with the billboard companies, which was little or nothing.

We did "butt in," and finally forced the Building Commissioner to order down a particularly flagrant violation at Sheridan Road and Grace Street. The Thomas Cusack Company, its owner, then enjoined the city from removing the board. The lower court declared the ordinance invalid, and made the injunction permanent, although the clear rule of law is that where there is any doubt as to the validity of an ordinance, the doubt should be resolved in favor of the municipality. Judging from the results in the higher courts, there would seem to have been ample reason for acting in accordance with this principle in this case, so that the boards in dispute would have been torn down two years ago, instead of having stood all that time with resulting profit to the private corporations and detriment to the public. The Municipal Art Committee aided in securing the evidence which laid the foundation for the decisions of the higher courts, and in preparing the case in full co-operation with former Corporation Counsel Beckwith and his assistant, Mr. Hoover.

COOK COUNTY'S FOREST PRESERVE

"I venture to say that there has never been a piece of public work in Chicago or Cook County more efficiently or more honestly done than that undertaken by the Forest Preserve Commission under the act recently passed by the Legislature," said President F. I. Moulton of the City Club in introducing Peter Reinberg, chairman of the commission, who, with Mr. D. H. Perkins, a citizen member of its plan committee, addressed the City Club on the work of that body Wednesday noon, January 17th. A number of the officials of the commission were present, including besides Mr. Reinberg and Mr. Perkins, Messrs. William Busse and Owen O'Malley, members, Mr. R. E. Kennicott, forester, Mr. Adolph Weiner, attorney, and Messrs. C. H. Wacker J. C. Vaughn and William A. Peterson, citizen members of the plan committee.

President Moulton referred to the long campaign for forest preserves in Cook County. "After six or eight years of endeavor," he said, "the passage of three

acts by the Legislature, the adoption of the act three times by referendum and two appeals to the Supreme Court, the Forest Preserve Act is now a fixture for Cook County and the work of purchasing the tracts and making them available for the public is going ahead."

Mr. Reinberg said:

"After a long struggle we succeeded in securing the passage of the Forest Preserve Act and its validation by the Supreme Court. Under this act the Cook County Commissioners became ex-officio the Forest Preserve Commission of the county. In starting our work we had no precedent to go by. We appointed a plan committee to work out the details of the purchases to be made and have since been surveying and buying up the land. We have to date bought about 1,500 acres and the total area of the sites acquired ordered to be acquired, or under consideration is 20,000 acres. In another year, I believe, we will have acquired from 7,000 to 10,000 acres."



Photo by A. E. Ormes.

PALOS WOODS.

A beautiful region of rolling, wooded hills. Under consideration, but not yet formally approved for purchase by the Forest Preserve Commission.

Mr. Reinberg indicated by a map the various sites considered by the commission so far, namely:

Preserve No.		Acres.
1	PALATINE	1,195
2	WHEELING, SOUTH TO ALLISON BRIDGE	849
3	THATCHER PARK, NORTH AVE. TO MADISON ST.....	360
4	PALOS-ARCHER AVE.....	7,000
5	BEVERLY HILLS.....	116
6	NORTH BRANCH OF CHICAGO RIVER, CRAWFORD TO COUNTY LINE	3,520
7	SALT CREEK, COUNTY LINE TO RIVERSIDE	1,300
8	MAINE DISTRICT-BALLARD AND RAND ROADS	45
9	CHURCH STREET DISTRICT.....	160
10	CHICAGO HEIGHTS.....	813 1/3
11	DESPLAINES RIVER, ALLISON'S BRIDGE TO NORTH AV.....	4,455
12	ELK GROVE	1,600
13	LITTLE CALUMET RIVER, RIVERDALE	123
14	MURPHY TRACT, JOLIET & WILLOW SPRING ROAD.....	325
TOTAL		21,861 1/3

"The policy at the present time," Mr. Reinberg said, "is to purchase land only where the owners are willing to sell at a reasonable price. The land so far acquired has been obtained at reasonably low figures. The Palatine tract of 1,100 acres was bought at from \$90 to \$100

per acre. This seems very cheap indeed, but of course the land is not suitable for agricultural purposes. In other places, depending upon the value of the land for other uses, we have paid as high as \$750 an acre.

"It will probably be necessary in a good many cases to settle values in the courts. The owners of Thatcher's Woods, for example, want \$2,000 an acre, whereas we are willing to pay only \$700. Around Palos Park we are considering the purchase of 7,000 acres, very hilly and wooded, but not good for agricultural purposes, but this, too, is being held at very high prices and so far we have purchased only a couple of hundred acres there.

"In reference to the Skokie, I want only to say that, if it is to be preserved in its present condition, the Forest Preserve Commission should have some authority to control the drainage, otherwise the peculiar characteristics of the region will be lost.

"Finally, the Forest Preserve Commission in their capacity as Cook County Commissioners, are interested in good roads as well as in the acquirement of forest preserves. We have been doing a good deal recently on this line, trying to

improve our roads through paving and in other ways. Our forest preserve will be a great thing for us to pass on to the next generation, but we must also provide good roads so that people can get to them."

Mr. Moulton called attention to the fact that inasmuch as the Cook County Commissioners are also the Forest Preserve Commissioners, they are not only in a position to acquire lands, but to build roads to them and connecting them, thus co-ordinating them into one system.

He also called attention to the provisions of the law which enable the Commissioners to acquire wooded lands by purchase, condemnation or *gift*, and expressed the hope that the latter provision would recommend itself to some of the wealthy people of the city. He urged that "Carnegie Woods" would be as enduring a monument as "Carnegie Library," and as great a benefit to the public.

Mr. Moulton next introduced Mr. Perkins, one of the four citizen members of the Plan Committee of the Forest Preserve Commission. Mr. Perkins has been one of the leading advocates of the establishment of the Forest Preserves from the beginning of the movement. He was the author of the Report of the Metropolitan Park Commission of 1904, which made the first definite proposals for the preservation of the forest lands of the county.

Mr. Perkins said:

"Although I studied this question for fourteen years before I became a member of the Plan Committee, I have found that even this time is not sufficient for a person to become thoroughly familiar with it. It is impossible for any one person to know what would be the most efficient expenditure of money for the uses intended by the Act. It was, therefore, a wise move on the part of the Forest Preserve Commission to appoint a special plan committee to study the question in detail. This committee consists of five members of the commission and four citizen members.

"Working with this Plan Committee is our engineering and surveying departments with Mr. R. E. Kennicott at the head and with four other engineers and seventeen assistants. Mr. Adolph Wei-

ner in the Legal Department has two assistants and in addition to these there are three real estate experts who assist us in the valuation of the lands. This organization is constantly at work collecting information upon which we can base our judgment as to purchases. Not a decision has been made but has been based on the most careful, scientific and non-partisan examination of the facts. Not once since I have been on the board have I heard any mention of politics. Neither do local considerations have any part in the determination of the sites to be bought, except that some people have been afraid that our money would be exhausted before certain important districts were taken care of.

"The prices paid for the land have really been quite low. In many cases less has been paid than might have been expected if the land had been purchased for private use.

"At present, we cannot say anything about administration further than that the future will be protected so that later commissions may work out the details in the freest possible manner. For instance, while the best lands along the Desplaines River are for the most part on the east side, we are planning to purchase a narrow strip on the west side so that future commissions can control the water supply and the problem of sewage—a problem which is one of exceeding great importance in this region. We feel that we are under obligation to future commissioners to permit them a free handling of this question.

"I agree very heartily with President Reinberg in what he says about the necessity of good roads leading to these various tracts. But we don't want to pay for our land what we would have to pay if all the tracts were on finely paved roads, so I don't hesitate in the least in recommending the purchase now of any beautiful tract, whether it is accessible or not. It will be accessible in time. I would rather buy two acres of inaccessible land than one that is accessible. I should like to have all the land possible purchased before roads are built, because they are bound to become accessible by the natural development of roads.

"The park area within the city limits of Chicago is less than 4,000 acres and Chicago is 38th among the cities of the

United States of 100,000 or more population in park area in relation to population. We have under consideration at the present time the purchase of 20,000 acres, five times as much as that now within the city limits, yet this is not too much. It is small as compared with Los Angeles, for instance, which has one park, Griffiths' Park, of about 20,000 acres.

"I like to think of the 7,000 acre Palos Park tract which we are considering, as the Fontainebleu of Chicago. To some people this seems very far away for the purchase of so large a tract, but Fontainebleu, near Paris, consists of 80,000 acres and is about fifty miles from the city.

"In conclusion, I want to say that I believe that when the work of the commission is done, if you have any criticism to make it will be not, 'Why did you do this or that?' but 'Why didn't you do twice as much?'"

Mr. Moulton called upon Mr. Wacker, another citizen of the Plan Committee, to say a word. Mr. Wacker said:

"I have never been on any commission which has done its work more carefully and with more concrete information at hand than the Forest Preserve Commission of Cook County. There has been entire harmony in the work of the commission and all decisions as to the purchase of sites have been by unanimous vote. Every tract has been visited and gone over very carefully before purchase. I am satisfied as long as the present County Board and the Plan Commit-



Photo by J. B. Chapman.

WINTER.

tee is in control of this important development, the city will be sure of getting the best value at the lowest prices."

"Senate control in the Illinois Legislature this session, as it was two years ago, is in the hands of a small group of Republican members. Shortly after the election, Senators Curtis, Barr, Dailey and Ettelson started the work of organizing the members of their party. The large majority of the Republican senators were urged to sign a statement to stand together behind the governor and the state party platform. This round robin was used as a caucus organization ve-

hicle. Among the Republicans who did not sign the statement were Senators Hull, Pervier, Dunlap, Swift, Cornwell and Barbour.

"The 'big four' easily handled the party caucus and the Senate organization preliminaries, as is indicated by the personnel of the committee on committees. It is composed of Senators Curtis, Barr, Dailey, Ettelson, Jewell, Cornwell and Hull."—*Assembly Bulletin, The Legislative Voters' League, Jan. 13, 1917.*

OUR ILLINOIS JAILS

In 1915 the Illinois Board of Charities sent an investigator to look at our county jails. She visited every one of the 102 counties of the state and made her report to the Board. Her report revealed our jails as dark, unwholesome, vermin-ridden traps which ought to be abolished. In some of them there were more violations of the law by the county in its sanitary and other arrangements than were charged against the prisoners detained there.

The results of this investigation are being used in an effort to secure the abolition of the county jails as they now exist, replacing them with penal farms where prisoners may find healthful open air activity and receive treatment tending to restore them to normal human relationships. This effort will probably culminate in legislation to be presented to the General Assembly at the present session.

The jails of Illinois were described at a recent meeting of the City Club by Miss Annie Hinrichsen, who made the investigation for the State Board of Charities. Miss Grace Abbott of the Immigrants' Protective League, discussed the methods by which they might be eliminated.

"The most unfortunate people in the state today," Miss Hinrichsen said, "are, I believe, the persons arrested for crimes or misdemeanors or convicted of misdemeanors and, not having enough money to pay their fines, are confined in our county jails. From earliest times in this state we have thought of a good county jail simply as one from which no prisoner could ever escape. It has been a dungeon of brick and stone.

"In 1870 the State Board of Charities made its first inspection of jails. Its report was a tale of horrors. The jails were found to be regular bastilles, which, of course, prevented escape, but which also prevented the entrance of light and air and the maintenance of ordinary sanitary conditions.

"In 1874, a law was passed by the Legislature requiring adequate ventilating, good food and sanitary conditions in the jails. Important requirements were the whitewashing of the jails every three

months, the separation of men and women and the segregation of persons charged with felonious crimes. If this law, which is still on the books, were carried out, our jails would not be the reproach to our civilization that they are.

"There are three types of jails in Illinois:

"(1) The basement jail, usually in the cellar of a county courthouse. Such jails are usually damp, dark and swarming with every kind of vermin.

"(2) The stone block jail, in which it is almost impossible to get air or light into the cells.

"(3) The iron cage jail, a little better than the others in its provision for light and air, but still far below the standard that humane considerations would prescribe.

"The jails in southern Illinois are the worst in the state—outside the Chicago police jails. In these jails, for instance, the only provision for bathing is a metal tub used by everybody, including men afflicted with the worst sort of communicable disease. The bedding in these jails ranges from nothing at all to fairly good accommodations—in some places the men sleep on the floor in blankets. In one southern Illinois jail—a stone block jail—I found robbers, murderers, beggars and young boys, mixed together indiscriminately. Many of them were diseased, but the moral contagion was even worse. The jail was so cold and damp that I was chilled. Four of the prisoners were very ill, but no physician had been called.

"It would seem that in our state of civilization a law requiring the keeping of men and women prisoners in separate rooms would seem unnecessary, but in some of the jails in this state the cells of men and women are close together in the same room. This condition is made worse by the fact that many of the women are held for sex offenses.

"The fee system of feeding prisoners is a prevalent evil in all but four of the county jails in the state. Where this system prevails the keeper is given a certain cash amount for feeding the prisoners. It is a common form of graft

for the keeper to feed the prisoners very cheaply, providing them insufficient food or food of a poor quality and to pocket the difference. The keeper of the Sangamon county jail created a real sensation a little while ago by saying that he would take only the money actually spent. He provided what seemed to me to be fairly satisfactory food at a cost of 15c a day, but other counties use from 30c up. And, of course, if the jail is not filled up, the jailer loses a profit. One of the worst effects of the fee system is that the prisoners realize that the jailer is grafting upon their necessities. The moral effect is disastrous.

"The police jails in Chicago are the worst in the state. Nineteen of these jails are in basements and eleven of them are so abominable that they ought to be blotted from the map.

"Our state has tolerated these jails in the past because of the failure of public opinion to measure up to its duty. They will not disappear from our state until the public demands that its attitude to the prisoners—a humane attitude which looks to reformation rather than punishment—be expressed in decent, healthful buildings providing opportunities for work and moral regeneration."

Miss Abbott said:

"It would be more interesting, perhaps, to discuss constructive measures for the prevention of crime rather than methods of improving the care of those who are already offenders. But the jail has its place in such a program and when jail conditions are such as have been described by Miss Hinrichsen it is time for immediate action. We have probably known more of the horrors of Russian prisons than of worse conditions in those in Illinois.

"In deciding what steps should be taken to improve our correctional institutions we have certain general principles which have been established by experience in other cities and other countries to guide us. These are:

"(1) Persons awaiting trial should be kept separate from those who are sentenced to a term of imprisonment as a punishment for a crime of which they have been convicted. This is justified on two grounds, namely, that those who may be held innocent should not be sub-

jected to association with those who are convicted criminals and that those who have been convicted may not be compelled to endure demoralizing idleness and suffer from the lack of reformatory treatment. It is impossible to make proper plans for both groups in a single institution.

"(2) Persons who are convicted of crime should not be confined in great and expensive institutions built of stone and iron, but they should be held on a farm where they can have fresh air, sunlight, wholesome out-of-door employment and a degree of freedom, which, if they have, are properly encouraged and directed, will enable them to develop the sense of responsibility and the self-control which they will need when released.

"(3) Separate provision for women and for the young offenders, and, so far as possible, for different classes of offenders, should be made.

"(4) Neither the insane nor those who are mentally deficient should be confined in the same institution with those who are normal. Scientific treatment is impossible without such classification of prisoners.

"If we apply these principles to our problem in Illinois and in Chicago and Cook County we would recommend that:

"(1) As to the State Penitentiary—(a) Adequate appropriation for maintaining our state prison farm should be made by the State Legislature. Development of its possibilities is now greatly hampered because of a lack of funds for equipping it. (b) That the buildings provided for the prisoners should not be uniform in type, but should be built so as to meet the needs of the different classes of men with a view to developing their self-respect and a sense of personal responsibility for their conduct.

"(2) Illinois should have a farm institution for young women offenders similar to those of New York and Pennsylvania.

"(3) A state farm for misdemeanants should be established. This would mean that those convicted of misdemeanors and now held in the barbarous county jails would be sent to a state farm. Experience has demonstrated the impossibility of compelling the various County Boards of the state to provide

decent jails. Moreover, the number convicted of misdemeanors in any one county except Cook, is not large enough to make it possible without unjustifiable expense for a county to provide the care for offenders which is in accordance with modern standards. Indiana is successfully maintaining a state farm for misdemeanants and any one who visits that farm and then inspects the jails of Illinois will be in favor of immediate action along this line.

"(+) Adoption of Recommendation 3 would leave the county jail largely a place of detention for those awaiting trial. It should be possible for the state to close these jails, after notice, if they are not maintained in accordance with the state law.

"As for Chicago and Cook County. Chicago has voted on several occasions to make better provision for its offenders. Several years ago a million dollar bond issue to provide new police stations was approved but this money has not been used and we still have the kind of police stations which Miss Hinrichsen has described to you.*

"In the building of the new police stations, special provision should be made for women. Women who are arrested or are held awaiting trial should be brought to a central station especially provided for them. The City Council has proposed that three old stations be rebuilt as stations for women. The number of women arrested is relatively small and for this reason it is only through a single station that women can be properly segregated, that young offenders can be kept away from those who have run the whole gaunt of experience and scientific treatment provided.

"The girl who is arrested but not convicted should be followed up so that conditions which led to her arrest may be corrected. It would be possible for agencies to do this work much more successfully if all the girls and women were taken to a single place of detention.

"Another bond issue which the people have passed on favorably is for a farm for inebriates. It has not been used because the city needs enabling legislation before it can purchase land outside the city for such a farm.

"We also approved a bond issue for a House of Shelter for women offenders. It was at first thought that this should be built on the Bridewell grounds, but strenuous objection by the women's organizations prevented this. If this plan had been carried out, we would probably have had simply an old style jail without opportunity for outdoor employment under conditions conducive to health or for the development of a sense of responsibility. Negotiations are now under way with the Board of Education to secure permission to use for the purposes of a Shelter House, a part of the 640 acres of school land recently acquired by the Board through the annexation of Clearing.

"The Cook County Jail has been repeatedly condemned as a disgrace to the community. The recommendations already made would cover this jail also. It should receive no convicted persons. The women awaiting trial should be cared for in the Central Detention Station for women just described and a plan for separate places of detention for the men and the boys should be made. If such plans were submitted to the public, Cook County would support a bond issue for providing the money to carry out the plans. It is probably because such plans were never submitted that bond issues for a county jail have been voted down by the people of Cook County.

"There are other measures which should be considered in connection with jails and prisons. They are: (1) Improvement of the probation service, (2) provision for an indeterminate sentence to be administered by a parole board whose members are trained in modern penal methods and (3) payment for work done by prisoners to those dependent on them. There is no time to discuss these now. They are, however, necessary for placing the institutional work on an efficient basis.

"As this is a legislative year many of these measures will be introduced during the present session. Those who are interested in helping to secure their enactment into law should communicate with Miss Hinrichsen."

*See also quotation from Miss Hinrichsen's report, page 37 of this Bulletin.

THE INDIANA STATE PENAL FARM.

The Indiana State Penal Farm, referred to above, is described by Miss Hinrichsen in the *Institutional Quarterly* as follows:

"The Indiana State Farm for Misdemeanants is Indiana's solution of the county jail problem. The prisoners at this farm are the same classes of offenders as those that Illinois herds in the county jail.

"To the person interested in both the financial and the humanitarian phases of the problem, the story of the establishing and the development of this farm reads like a wonder tale. But unlike the wonder tale, this beautiful story, expressed in terms of dollars and cents, clean, wholesome work, fresh air, medical care and attention and regeneration of body and soul, is a live, vital fact.

"The story shows the method by which in one year the state of Indiana was made \$65,000 richer in actual financial gain and by which, exclusive of this money benefit, the counties were saved \$300 a day. The story shows the enormous economic value of the petty offender when he is treated like a human being and his labor is directed by trained instructors. Because there are no terms by which we can measure the development of principles of decent manhood, the story only suggests the changes that the Indiana method makes in the prisoner himself when it takes him from the life of the caged beast—idleness, darkness, moral and physical contagion—and sends him outdoors to do a man's work and live a man's life.

"The bill creating the farm was passed by the Indiana legislature in March, 1913. The legislature appropriated \$60,000 for the purchase of the land. A tract of 1,600 acres was bought and the actual labor was begun in October, 1914. The farm is at Putnamville, 40 miles from Indianapolis.

"At the close of the first year of its existence there were 600 prisoners at the farm. Ten long frame buildings on concrete and stone foundations had been erected. Four hundred and eighty acres had been put under cultivation. A blacksmith shop, quarry outfit, stone plant and canning factory had been set up. Orchards had been planted. Hogs, cattle,

horses, mules and poultry had been bought. Roads and fences had been built.

"The entire cost of farm land, buildings, equipment, improvements and maintenance for the year was \$104,341.34. The appraisment of the land, buildings and equipment was \$161,723. The farm and garden reports show that the products on hand were worth \$5,684.69. The live stock was valued at \$1,655. We find, therefore, that at the end of one year the state farm had made the state of Indiana richer in actual financial gain, \$65,000. In this sum we do not reckon the increase in the value of the land nor the value of fences and orchards.

"Indiana clings to the per diem fee system of feeding prisoners in the county jail. The sheriffs receive on an average 50 cents a day. The food of these 600 men, the average daily population of the farm in its first year, would have cost the counties \$300 a day.

"The first laborers were the men from the state prisons. As rapidly as there was room for them, the petty offenders were brought and put to work.

"The materials were secured and prepared on the grounds. The buildings are frame, made from native timber. The foundations are concrete blocks made by prisoners, and native stone quarried by prisoners.

"The buildings have every comfort for the men, but no luxuries, unless, of course, to persons from the county jails, bathrooms, sanitary toilets, clean bedding, comfortable cots, a community dining room and scrupulous cleanliness may be regarded as luxuries.

"There are no walls around the grounds. A wall stronger than steel and stone is a law enacted soon after the farm was established, making an escape a felony punishable by from two to five years in the state penitentiary."

CHICAGO JAILS.

In her report to the State Charities Commission, Miss Hinrichsen wrote as follows about Chicago jails:

"In Chicago we find the worst jails in the state. There are forty-five precinct station jails, the jail in the detective bureau, the Cook County jail and the Bridewell jails.

"Of the forty-six city jails of Chicago only about a dozen are fit for any use whatever. Nineteen are underground. Through eleven run open sewers. These sewers provide the toilet facilities. These sewers are small troughs in the back of the cells, flushed by running water. The contents of each cell pass through the outer cells. Whatever enters this sewer in one cell passes through the cells beyond it. In one of these jails the men, women, insane, and the prisoners' food are held in one row and the sewer runs the length of the row. When the sewers overflow the floors are flooded with the contents of the sewers. Rats and vermin are numerous. The walls are painted black. The men sleep on planks. If there are more than two men in a cell, they must lie on the floor beside the open sewer. Sometimes it is necessary to put eight or ten in one small cell.

"There were 127,000 arrests made in the city of Chicago last year, and a large per cent of this number passed through the city jails.

"Chief Justice Olson, of the Chicago Municipal Court, told me recently that a former president of the International Prison Congress said, after an investigation of a typical Chicago police jail, that in all the prison history of the world he had found no prisons so vile, with the exception of the jails of Turkey of the twelfth century.

"The Cook County jail is one of the most insanitary in the state. It violates Chicago's municipal ordinance that there shall not be a bakery under ground. Separation of different classes of prisoners, especially of different classes of boys, is impossible. The cells are mere caves.

"At the Bridewell there are two modern cell houses and two dark dungeons.

"Except immediately after a court term, eighty per cent of the prisoners in the county jails of the state outside of Cook County and ninety per cent of the prisoners in the Cook County jail are awaiting trial.

"All the prisoners in the Chicago police jails are waiting hearings. These persons are declared by the law to be presumably innocent, and they are herded together in vile cells, exposed to every kind of moral and physical contagion. They are held in idleness. The first offenders are in cells with hardened criminals. Boys are with old men. The girl witness may be in the same cell with the drunken women of the streets. The runaway boy may be imprisoned with the sexual pervert. The physically clean are compelled to use the same tubs, often the same towels and drinking cups that are used by those suffering from the most loathsome, communicable diseases. They may also use the same beds and bedding. Light and air are denied admission, but vermin, rats and seepage enter without difficulty."

The Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts recently made a study to determine the effect of the minimum wage in Massachusetts retail stores. Its conclusions, briefly summarized, were:

"1. That most experienced women employed in retail stores in Massachusetts are now receiving not less than the rate recommended by the wage board and approved by the Commission, and that most learners and apprentices are now employed under the more favorable conditions and with better prospects than ever before.

"2. That no such general increase in wages as has actually occurred would have taken place but for the operation of the minimum wage law.

"3. That the decrease in the total number of women regularly employed in

retail stores in 1916 as compared with the preceding years was mainly produced by other causes than the introduction of the minimum wage.

"4. That those whose loss of employment may be ascribed to the minimum wage are now for the most part better situated than they were in their former positions.

"5. That there is no tendency for the minimum wage to become a maximum.

"6. That the action of those proprietors of retail stores who have accepted the Commission's recommendations has been justified by the results, as far as now known, and that, unless good reasons for not so doing be shown, their example ought to be followed without further delay by all other proprietors of retail stores."

THE REAL CAUSES OF PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION

A large audience greeted Mr. Roger W. Babson of Wellesley Hills, Mass., President of the Babson Statistical Organization, when he spoke at the City Club at luncheon on Wednesday, January 3rd. Mr. Babson spoke on "The Real Causes of Prosperity and Depression." He said:

"What is the real cause of our periodical business depressions? We might, with equal justification, ask which caused the Chicago fire, the lantern which the cow kicked over or the rotten building conditions and the inefficient fire department of the time? We might ask what causes the explosion, the dynamite or the spark? The fact is, of course, that both are causes. So it is with business depressions. There is a primary or temporary cause, the spark, and the more fundamental causes which correspond to the building conditions or to the inefficiency of our fire-fighting methods.

"The primary cause of business depressions is over-production in *some one line of business*. Over-production in *all* lines is, of course, an impossible thing, but there can be over-production in some one line. Today there is over-production in munitions, in tool machinery and in various products which go into the munition trade. Just as soon as the war is over, from three to four hundred thousand men employed in these industries will be thrown out of work and the buying power of their families will be to a very great extent eliminated. That means that there will be fewer orders for shoes, fewer orders for sewing machines, fewer orders for clothing and other ordinary articles of consumption in the workingman's home—which means, in turn, that the industries which produce these things must close up or run on shorter time, that workingmen in these industries will be thrown out of employment and their buying power reduced. So the vicious circle will run.

"Over-production then, of the sort I have described, is the *primary* cause of business depressions. It should teach us that no one industry in the country can suffer without all industries suffer-

ing, that capital cannot succeed without taking care of labor or labor succeed without a due regard for the interests of capital.

"When the business man is furnished with statistical information of as good a grade as is now given to the farmer by the government, so that he will know where over-production is taking place and where trouble is likely to start, the problem of eliminating this primary cause will be in a fair way toward settlement. The business man of today, however, has no adequate information of this sort.

"But particularly today I want to talk about the *fundamental* causes of business depressions, those causes which are similar to the rotten building conditions, which were responsible for the Chicago fire. Business conditions, it seems to me, depend fundamentally upon three things:

"*One—the physical vigor of the people.* The greatest surprise of the dozen years in which I have been in my present line of work is the discovery of the important connection between the physical vigor of a community and its output. Recently I made a study of the conditions in a mill town to see what could be done to speed up the productive power of the community. I found that the comparative inefficiency of this community was wholly the result of the physical conditions under which its members lived and we convinced the employer that if he could improve the living and working conditions of the people in that town he could increase his output 20%.

"The things which really make for good business conditions are not machinery, equipment, banks, boulevards and material things of this sort—they are rather the ambition, imagination, enterprise and initiative of the people. It is these intangible things, largely the product of the physical conditions under which the people live, which make the money for you. Any competitor with enough money can duplicate your machinery and equipment, but if the initiative and ambition of your force is superior to his, you have the advantage. The

physical vigor upon which these intangible assets depend should, then, be cultivated in every way possible.

"During periods of great business prosperity it has been found that initiative and ambition tend gradually to fade away, that in periods of depression men are put upon their mettle and these qualities are developed. This reaction, due to conditions existing in times of prosperity, is then the first fundamental cause of our recurrent depressions. After the war is over the boys in Europe will have an incentive to work, their ambition and imagination will be stirred, they will have to work or starve. And if we do not show qualities as great, we will starve in spite of all our gold and our machinery.

Second—faith. I say this not as a preacher, but as a cold-blooded statistician. We must have faith in ourselves and in our community. It is the greatest of business assets. In periods of prosperity and high living it tends to vanish and men put their trust rather in stocks and bonds. In periods of depression we must have faith or starve. The lack of faith, which is produced in times of prosperity, is the second fundamental cause of depression. The greatest word of the next twenty years is going to be 'Co-operation.' Faith begets faith; distrust begets distrust.

Third—the law of action and reaction. We get out of life what we put into it. I have spent my winters in South America for the last three years and my friends have asked why it is that with the wonderful material resources of that continent it has been so undeveloped. The answer is that three hundred years ago, when England came to the North American Continent to develop and improve it, Spain came to South America to rob and exploit it. The spirit which Spain brought to South America has come down through generations—the spirit of getting something for nothing. In our country it is still, let us be thankful, considered an honor to work and a dishonor to loaf, while in South America, on the contrary, it has been considered an honor to have nothing to do and a dishonor to work. That, I think, explains the backward development of South America. It is the law of action

and reaction; we get out of life what we put into it.

"So it is with business. We get out of business what we put into it. During periods of prosperity like the present the watchword of our business men is profit, and quality is overlooked. Today if the customer kicks about quality, the business man is likely to tell him that he is lucky to get anything at all. In times of depression, however, much attention is paid to the quality of goods, when in prosperous times like the present, the business man says, 'Profits! Profits! To hell with quality,' there is sure to be a reaction which means depression.

"Let me illustrate from the cycle of prosperity and depression which existed from April, 1904, to 1908. Business in the spring of 1904 was dull. Quality, efficiency and economy were the watchwords of business men during these months of depression. During this time the more inefficient business men, those with less imagination and faith, were weeded out and business began to improve. The prosperity of 1906 was the direct result of the higher efficiency which came out of the depression of 1904. Business men were on easy street. New industries were established; we became extravagant, careless and inefficient. Corruption and dishonesty were abroad in our big cities. The inevitable result was another period of depression and again the inefficient ones were put out of business and the circle was repeated.

"This sort of thing has gone on for the last thousand years. Must it always go on, or can we prevent it? If we have these inflated conditions, we are bound to have the results I have spoken of, but there is no more reason why these conditions should exist than that cholera or smallpox should exist in our modern, civilized communities. So long as we have periods of riotous living and inefficiency we will have reactions that produce depressions. There is no reason why we cannot get rid of both.

"The fundamental conditions which I have shown to be at the bottom of our business depressions can be improved only gradually, but we must make a start. We must first of all back up every movement for the betterment of

the living and working conditions of our people as a means of improving their physical vigor, and thus lay the groundwork for the cultivation of imagination, initiative and resourcefulness. We must get behind temperance, the regulation of vice, the improvement of housing conditions, the better regulation of public utilities. We must get behind the churches in their work of developing the faith of our communities.

"We must particularly watch our public schools, for of all things affecting these fundamentals, our schools are perhaps the most important of all. You must find out whether the school to which you are sending your boy or girl is developing his initiative, ambition, faith, or whether it is simply treating him as a phonograph and loading him up with information. In some cities which I have visited I have found that 98% of the pupils in the school are being handicapped in order to send 2% to New England universities for 'higher education.' Why not teach in the schools the things which will develop qualities of heart and mind in the boys and girls instead of letting a few universities in

the East dictate what should be taught.

"A great business man of the East, whose name you would all know, said to me recently that the big inventions of the next thirty or forty years will be along the lines of spiritual or psychological progress. We treat our employes now, he said, as machines. There is hardly a thing we ask them to do which could not be done nearly as well by a machine. Means must be invented which will awaken their enterprise, so that instead of one who thinks there will be a hundred. That manufacturer will succeed who looks upon the co-operation and efficiency of his employes, rather than upon the machinery, as his chief asset.

"The one idea which I wish to leave in your minds today is: Do not be blinded by the gold imports, by buildings, banks and boulevards, by the material prosperity which we have today, but remember that the things which determine growth and make for healthy business activity are the intangible things I have mentioned, ambition, initiative, faith and co-operation."

OUR MILITARY SYSTEM AND THE NATIONAL GUARD

Major Abel Davis of the First Infantry of the Illinois National Guard, addressed the City Club on December 13th on the Organization of our military system as revealed in the recent mobilization on the Mexican border. He discussed a new plan for a national army and the place which the National Guard should have in military organization of the country. He said:

"Our regiment, the First Illinois Infantry, answered the call of the president and reported at Fort Sam Houston. The experience gained by the regiment in Texas was valuable, but the time, energy and money expended did not produce in results the possible maximum.

"The following were the chief contributing causes:

"1. Excessive number of recruits, totally without military training.

"2. Lack of army officers detailed as instructors.

"3. Lack of a definite plan for training National Guard troops for war service.

"4. Lack of facilities for handling the large bodies of National Guardsmen called into the federal service.

"5. Cumbersome and wasteful method of changing the status of troops from state to federal control and their return to state control.

WEAK BULWARK AGAINST TRAINED FOE.

"1. The numerical strength of the First Infantry was 1,200, of which number 500 were inexperienced recruits, enlisted subsequent to the president's call. Had we been able to comply with the wishes of the war department to recruit the regiment to war strength, as it was then known, we would have had 700 recruits in a regiment of 1,400, or one untrained man for every trained; or, to be more accurate, partially trained man.

"While the units of European armies are increased in strength in time of war, such increase is at a much lower ratio than ours and is entirely of trained men from the reserves. We, on the other hand, have placed reliance on the willingness of men to respond in war time, ignoring the fact that patriotism, although expressed by willingness to serve, will not and cannot take the place of that essential training which fits men for war service.

"The ultimate object of all military training is to produce the highest degree of efficiency on the firing line; obedience to orders in face of death—an obedience unquestioning and instantaneous. Production of this efficiency has become more difficult as war has become more terrifying.

"2. There was one regular army officer, with the rank of captain, detailed as instructor for our entire brigade, consisting of approximately 3,600 men. To my knowledge, he had any number of days with eighteen working hours. He supervised the administrative work of the brigade and its regiments, provided drill schedules, arranged maneuvers, made inspections. But his incessant labors were not productive of great results because of the superhuman task assigned to him.

"3. Such benefit as the National Guard received from the last mobilization was in spite of the failure of the government to provide a definite program of training. Each army officer acting as instructor was obliged to exercise his own judgment and ingenuity in such limited instruction as was within his power to give.

"4. Army and National Guard officers were further handicapped by lack of facilities. The best illustration is our experience with target practice for recruits. Two hours was the actual time spent by each recruit in trying to hit the target.

ARMY OFFICERS UNJUSTLY CRITICIZED.

"5. Over one-third of the time my regiment was away from its home station was spent in mustering it into and out of the federal service. Work during this period was nearly impossible. The criticism heaped upon the shoulders of the regular army mustering officers was unjust. They were following the system incorporated into a law which demanded—a cumbersome and unnecessary provi-

sion—that every piece of property belonging to the National Guard while in the state service be invoiced to the federal government at the time of muster and its serviceability noted. Likewise, on mustering out, each piece of property had to be invoiced back to the state, its condition being noted at the time of such transfer. Incidental to this property reckoning between the federal and state governments, each accountable officer had to clear his account with the federal and state governments.

"In the same way every man who had been found by a medical examination to be physically fit for state service was re-examined to discover if he was fit for federal service. On being mustered out he was examined again. The government refused to rely on state examinations and justified all this re-examination as necessary to ascertaining the man's condition as it might affect his claim for a pension.

AND THEN THE RE-ENLISTMENT CONFUSION.

"Then the maze of difficulties regarding the oaths which the men have taken, should have taken, or are expected to take at this time: The men who have returned from the border do not know the meaning of an additional oath at this time, or understand its necessity. Many conflicting interpretations have been given regarding the effect of the latest oath. We tell them to exercise their own judgment regarding taking it and they prefer to wait.

"These are some of the difficulties which fell to the lot of the National Guardsmen who responded to a call to duty. On top of this they returned to their homes to find that, in some quarters at least, there is dissatisfaction with their conduct and even with their existence. Before sufficient time had elapsed for an analysis of the situation the cry was heard in many places for the abolition of the National Guard—the volunteer system must go—let us have 'compulsory universal service' and 'abolition of the National Guard.'

"I favor a system which will compel every young man to undertake a certain amount of military training and will furnish the United States, not with a hired standing army, but with a national army;

an army consisting of all classes of people, and of a size which our military experts, the general staff of the army, may determine from time to time to be adequate.

THREE LINES OF DEFENSE.

"Here are some concrete suggestions which, in my opinion, should be incorporated in a plan for the military establishment of the United States, and for the navy, with such modifications as that service may require.

"Active service in Cuba in 1898 as a member of my regiment, continued service and observation during the last nineteen years, and consultation with National Guardsmen and army officers serve as a basis for the plan, the principal features of which are the following:

"1. The military forces of the United States shall consist of:

"(a) National army—the first line.

"(b) National Guard—the second line.

"(c) Reserve—the third line.

"2. Every young man shall, upon the first day of July succeeding his 19th birthday, report to the United States government officials in his congressional district for registration and examination. Each congressional district shall constitute a military administrative district.

"All young men who, after strict medical examination by United States surgeons, are found to be physically unfit for service shall be excused and their names be stricken from the lists.

"All young men who are found by governmental investigation, to be the sole support of families shall also be excused from service in the first instance.

IN ONE OF TWO CLASSES.

"3. All men registered as qualified shall be listed in one of two classes:

"Class one: The first class shall consist of men who voluntarily put themselves in the way of securing a prescribed course of military training. The first class shall be divided as follows:

"(a) Men who shall at time of registration or prior thereto become members of National Guard organizations approved by the war department.

"(b) Men who have had two years of military training in a military school or academy approved by the war department, or men who shall, at the time of

registration or prior thereto, have entered or agreed in writing to enter the military corps of colleges or universities approved by the war department, and agreed to take a prescribed course of military training of not less than two years.

"Class two: The second class shall include all men on the qualified list who are not included in Class one. From Class two recruits for the national army shall be drawn in the first instance.

TWO YEARS IN NATIONAL ARMY.

"4. The war department shall designate yearly the number of recruits required for the national army in each congressional district, such recruits to be selected by lot from members of the second class, opportunity first being given for voluntary enlistment. If there is not a sufficient number in the second class, the required number shall be drawn from the first class to fill the quota.

"5. The term of service in the national army shall be two years on the active list and thereafter in the reserve.

"6. All members of the second class who shall not be mustered into the national army shall become part of the reserve, as shall all members of the first class upon the completion of their respective prescribed courses of training.

"7. Different grades of reserves shall be established, the grade depending on the nature of military service and experience. The reserves shall be organized into military units with officers from the active or reserve lists. Each year for a brief period the military commander of each congressional district shall call the members of the reserve to the colors. The following divisions of the reserve shall be made:

"Reserve A: Men who have served two years in the national army, or first line.

"Reserve B: Men who have served the required enlistment in national guard organizations.

"Reserve C: Men who have received the required training in military schools, colleges and universities.

"Reserve D: Men who have been placed in the reserve without training.

"Reserve E: Men who are under training for quarter-master, commissary, hospital, technical and electrical service.

"Reserve F: Men excused for physical disability. This reserve would remain unorganized and not subject to training, unless war were declared.

"8. Failure to complete a course of enlistment of three years in the National Guard, or two years of training in schools, colleges and universities in accordance with rules laid down by the war department, shall transfer a man from first to second class.

"9. Penalties shall be provided for evasion of enlistment.

EVERYONE FIT WOULD GET TRAINING.

"By this plan everyone except the physically unfit would receive military training in the army, the National Guard, schools, colleges or the reserves. In the second place, the plan would give the country an ever-changing citizen army drawn on a fair and equitable basis from every class.

"A hired mercenary army has no place in a free republic. Besides, experience has shown the inability of the government to attract enough men for an army of the required size. Our government has gone to extremes and has employed methods which would not be countenanced by reputable business houses in advertising the attractiveness of service in the regular army as it is now constituted.

"The fact that the government is refusing to release men now in Texas, whose term of enlistment has expired, shows this to be a time of necessity when the army should be recruited to its full strength. And yet the present strength of the army is 35,000 below the authorized number. The government cannot get the men.

FLEXIBLE PLAN.

"The flexibility of the plan is one of its features. The army becomes smaller or grows larger as international conditions appear to warrant. At the present time there can be no change in the size of the army without the enactment of special legislation. There is no time for such an enactment in an emergency. On the other hand, in case of a limitation of armies throughout the world, the American army could readily be reduced in accordance with the plan.

"The general staff of the army has estimated that for our purposes an army of 500,000 is required at this time. Two years' enlistment in the national army

would make the yearly requirement 250,000 men. There are 435 congressional districts. The yearly quota per district, therefore, would be but 500 men, a number so small as to make the interference with our industrial affairs negligible.

"The cost of maintaining a military establishment of the kind suggested would, of course, be considerably lower than the cost incident to a plan putting every man of a certain age with the colors for a period of two years. Under any plan thoughtful consideration will prompt a decision in favor of a two years' enlistment in the national army in order to give the country a good sized body of seasoned troops.

EVERY FOURTH MAN FOR NATIONAL ARMY.

"It is estimated that between 900,000 and 1,000,000 men yearly reach the age of nineteen. Making allowances for the physically unfit and for other losses we would have a standing army of at least 1,500,000 if all were called into the first line. It is further estimated that the army costs our government, on a yearly basis, \$1,000 per man.

"This would make the cost of maintaining such an army \$1,500,000,000—an outlay for which we are not prepared. Under my plan approximately only every fourth man would go into the national army. The others would receive their training in the National Guard, schools, colleges and universities at a much lower cost.

"An important feature of the plan is the one which puts into the reserves all the able-bodied men of the country. The successful termination of a military conflict depends not only on the men in active service ready to take the field on short notice, but on the size of the reserve ready to take the place of the wastage in battle. The reserve to be effective must have not only individual, but what is more important, organizational training.

"The number of fully trained reserves passing from peace to war footing as a part of the European armies at the beginning of the present war was: France, 2,300,000; Germany, 4,000,000; Austria, 1,600,000; Russia, 3,800,000; Italy, 1,250,000.

NATIONAL GUARD ESSENTIAL.

"Since it would be the expectation of parents that in one way or another their sons would be called upon to undergo a course of military training, the parents would exercise their influence in providing a course of military training in all our schools and colleges. The by-product of military training in the school cannot be overestimated. They are courage, self-reliance, obedience, responsibility and practical patriotism.

"Finally the plan would encourage enlistment in the National Guard and strengthen it in every way. We must at this point, therefore, answer the question: 'Do we want a National Guard?' I, for one, feel strongly the necessity of preserving the institution of the Guard. It has proved its usefulness as an army of the state in insuring domestic tranquillity. What, I ask, would we have done at the time of the Springfield race riots? Then 5,000 guardsmen put a stop to disorder and saved both property and lives. What, again, would we have done at the time of the Cairo floods? We must have the Guard. Without it dozens of outbreaks would occur that are now restrained by the existence of the Guard.

"With a higher degree of efficiency, such as this plan would give it, the National Guard would rise to a broader field of usefulness to the state. But take away from the Guard its standing as a part of the federal army in case of war, and relegate it to the position of a state police force, and I say to you there will be no National Guard.

ALL TRAINING UNDER WAR DEPARTMENT.

"The criticism that training in the National Guard regiments has been inefficient and failed to produce trained men is silenced by the provision suggested that all such training shall be under the supervision of the war department and that only such men shall be exempt from the compulsory feature of the law as have received training in National Guard organizations whose course of training and standard of efficiency bear the approval of the war department.

"Let the federal government equip the National Guard; let the equipment remain the property of the United States; let the accountability be direct from the regimental accountable officer to the federal government, eliminating the necessity of transfer back and forth when the Guard is called into federal service; let the government supervise in the first instance the physical examination of recruits; let army officers, at least one to a battalion, be detailed to the National Guard as instructors in times of peace; let there be a definite plan for intensive training of the National Guard when called into service; let provision be made in advance for all matters incident to mobilization; let ample facilities be provided for the handling of large bodies of volunteer troops—and the National Guard, with its demonstrated desire for service, will be an efficient and effective part of the military establishment of the United States."

THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE

What to do with prisoners convicted of crime so that when they come from the jails and penitentiaries they will not continue to prey upon society, was the theme of a talk at the City Club on January 11th, by Judge William H. Wadhams, of the Court of General Sessions, New York City—the largest criminal court in the world—and Chairman of the Committee on Law of the International Prison Committee. He said:

"The problem came to me first upon hearing the clerk of my court read the criminal history of a prisoner on trial—a history beginning with petty juvenile

delinquencies and leading up to the major offenses of grand larceny, burglary, etc., and involving confinement in many different penal institutions, reformatories, penitentiaries, etc. It occurred to me that in this case certainly the hospitals had failed to effect a cure. This case interested me in having statistics of repeaters gathered. I learned that one-third of the men who passed through the court had been in jail before and that half the crime in the city was committed by such persons. I venture to assert, too, that this is true not only of New

York, but of many other cities—probably including Chicago.

"What would you think of a hospital which would turn loose its scarlet fever or smallpox patients before they were cured, to spread contagion throughout the city—or a hospital half of whose patients had been there before and came back because a cure had not been effected? But this is just what is true of our prisons. Many of the men who came before me had, as I have said, committed all kinds of crime, spent one or more terms in prison and been turned loose again on society. In New York in one year there came out of our jails over 45,000 prisoners. Out of the jails of the United States in the same year there came a great army of crime—a division of arson, a division of burglary, a division of murder, a division of rape—marching back into society, prepared in many cases to repeat the very crimes for which they had been corrected. What is society going to do about it?

"We have changed a good deal in our methods of treating convicted criminals. Not long ago I saw the record of the first criminal case in the Court of General Sessions, back in 1683. It was a burglary case. By order of the court, the prisoner was branded in the forehead with the letter B. In those days men were hung for forgery, larceny and other offenses for which today we would not even *consider* such punishment. Corporal punishment as a method of dealing with offenses of this sort was practical as late as 1784, but crimes were committed just the same. That one hundred years of brutality failed to stop it.

"We have tried the confinement of criminals as a method of dealing with crime. We adopted the cell block system. In Sing Sing, we have confined men in cells 3 ft. 6 in. wide, 7 ft. long, 6 ft. 6 in. high. Sometimes two men are confined in such a cell. In some, it is actually possible to wipe the moisture from the walls with your hand. At one time every third man in the penitentiary had tuberculosis. What can you expect from men living under such conditions? They come back from their confinement crushed in body and mind and determined to revenge themselves upon society. There is no ignorance or neglect but in the long run has its revenge and

this is true of our treatment of criminals. I had this brought forcibly home to me not long ago by the case of a lad who was before me for the fourth offense. He was mentally deficient and irresponsible, but the State of New York had neglected to provide any place for feeble-minded delinquents, so I had no choice but to give him another term in jail. And this was his fourth offense. Can you wonder that such persons are found again and again before our courts?

"In our treatment of prisoners one other essential point is correct housing. We still have a long way to go in our American prisons before we have correct housing. A little while ago I saw in Trenton, N. J.—U. S. A.—a man who had been chained to the wall for six years. And then I went to Pittsburgh and was amazed to learn that there were nearly twice as many prisoners confined in jail there as in New York City, which has twice the population. It was explained to me that the fee system prevails in Pittsburgh and that the judges' pay depends upon the number of convictions. Naturally the jails are kept full.

"Another consideration of great importance in dealing with criminals is the necessity of classification. It has been the sin of our prison system that we have been blinded to the necessity of working out a proper classification. We put the feeble-minded in with the others, expect them to work at tasks at which they are incompetent, and treat them—when they are guilty of infractions of discipline—as if they were simply vicious. Classification would allow proper treatment. It would mean, for instance, a farm for the feeble-minded. It would mean that men who can learn a trade would have the opportunity. It would place men at work for which they are best qualified. More than half the men in the Pennsylvania jails today are sitting in idleness, day after day, week after week, month after month. That is fine preparation, isn't it, for their later life as citizens of the community?

"But how are judges able to say what the term should be in an individual case, or how long a person should be kept in jail for his reformation? The purpose of criminal law is not to punish men, but to protect society against the com-

mission of crime. It is quite impossible for a judge with any accuracy to guess how long a person should be locked up to insure this result. In one month, in the Court of General Sessions, I had 375 cases of conviction and in each case had to guess how long the prisoner ought to be locked up. Sit with me on the bench in an individual case and hear the arguments pro and con for a long or short sentence—the necessity of upholding the laws and protecting society on the one hand, the necessities of the man's family, the particular circumstances of the case and other considerations on the other. It is a very difficult task indeed for the judge.

"Recognizing this difficulty, a bill was prepared for an indeterminate sentence which would allow a prisoner to be confined for three years, but provided that he might, upon the decision of the Parole Board, be released at any previous time. Many people were opposed to this bill, myself included, for, of course, it would be very easy for the Parole Board, sitting in secret session, to be subject to many kinds of political and other improper influences for the release of prisoners. Recognizing, however, that the plan was good in principle, I suggested a change which was incorporated in the bill and has now been enacted into the law, providing that when a prisoner has been committed and the Parole Board has made a study of his case and decided upon the time of his release, the Board must bring the case into open court and convince the judge of the rightness of its decision. This takes the action of the Parole Board out of executive session, forces the Board to give reasons for its decision and brings the whole matter into the lime-light. Generally cases which have been brought before us by the Parole Board, under this law, have been well prepared and have been sustained by the court. In two cases the court dismissed the petition.

Under this plan the chief difficulty of the indeterminate sentence is met.

"I want finally to speak of what seems to me perhaps the most important feature of our methods for the reform of prisoners—education. The warden of a penitentiary should be an educator, broadly speaking, rather than a jailer, for the prison problem is to turn a man out into society with the assurance that he will not continue his criminal career. The act is the child of the mind and it is our problem to get to the mind of the prisoner a new message.

"Now, there came before my court persons who had served terms in various prisons of the state, but from one prison I found there were no repeaters. I wondered why. Did this mean that society was really being protected against the repetition of crime? I found that in this prison the experiment of democracy was being tried. The prisoners were given self-government, were taught responsibility by having an opportunity to exercise it themselves. Every man who came in that prison became a member of the Mutual Welfare League, which was charged with responsibility for discipline among the prisoners. So well has this worked out that the men have actually kept drugs out of the prison of their own initiative, and once even forcibly prevented a guard from smuggling in whiskey.

"It has been often said that the success of this plan has been due to the personality of the warden responsible for it.* That this is not so is demonstrated by the fact that conditions have continued unchanged since the man who conceived and started the plan went away. Since 1914 only two men from Sing Sing have come before me for the repetition of criminal offenses."

*Thomas Mott Osborne, former warden of Sing Sing, addressed the City Club on May 15, 1916. A report of his address is in the City Club Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 7.



STEP TOWARD COUNTY REFORM

"What is probably the most modern far-reaching and thorough plan of simplified local government thus far put out has recently been published by the City and County Government Association of Alameda County, California.

"This county contains the cities of Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley, and eight other municipalities, together with a considerable area of unincorporated territory. It is one of those metropolitan districts which have grown together into a compact community, and in doing so has outgrown its governmental clothes. Numerous offices overlap each other at various points, creating confusion, inefficiency and waste. The county government has been lost in the civic shuffle and, as everywhere else, has become the politicians' jungle.

"Because of strong local pride, it has been impossible to create a complete consolidated city. Therefore a plan of federation has been worked out which permits the central county government to take over functions like police, fire and health matters, which are obviously common interests, while the boroughs (to consist of existing municipalities) will still control such local matters as streets and certain other public works.

"Under this plan the city-county council would consist of twenty-one members (one selected from each district), and would have legislative power only. The borough councils would be composed of five members elected in the borough. The people of the city and county would also elect a mayor who would be a ceremonial head of the county and appoint the civil service commission and the auditor. The head of the general administration of city-county and borough affairs would be the city-and-county manager, who would be selected by the city-and-county council. This officer would have the power of appointment of the various heads of departments, most of whom, in the county government, are now elective. Thus the ballot in the

city of Oakland would be reduced from twenty-four offices to not over eight. The district attorney would continue as an elective officer. The chief of police would take over the work and the title of the sheriff. The numerous justices of the peace would be superseded by a municipal court of five members appointed by the mayor.

"This plan in its essentials has been under contemplation by Alameda County for a long time. It is in fact a modification of proposals unofficially submitted from the Short Ballot Organization's office in 1912. This earlier plan suggested the federation idea, the transfer to the county of a number of functions exercised by the various municipalities and the county manager. Subsequently, through initiative of the Tax Association of Alameda County, the constitution of California was so amended as to permit such a plan to be worked out.

"Pamphlets fully describing the proposed system may be had on request of the Short Ballot Organization." (383 Fourth Avenue, New York.)—*From the Short Ballot Bulletin, October, 1916.*

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The City Club Bulletin

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JESSE F. STEINER, Editor

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

VACATION NIGHT.

Do not forget that Wednesday evening, February 28, is the date of the mid-winter camp fire.

Attendance will be limited to members of the Club.

It will be a time for getting better acquainted with your fellow members through the medium of mutual vacation interests.

Dinner will be served—woods style, without any frills.

There will be lantern slides and moving pictures, vacation yarns and vacation reminiscences, photographic and trophy exhibits—all related closely to the various ways in which City Club members spend their vacations.

If you have not responded to the request of the committee for personal photos, enlarged photos, trophies, etc., please communicate with the chairman, Mr. Frank E. Wing, Telephone Franklin 999, or address a letter to him at the City Club at once.

SIXTH POPULAR CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT. SHOSTAC STRING QUARTET.

Tuesday, February 20, 8:00 p. m.

HENRI SHOSTAC, First Violin

JOSEPH SIBERSTEIN, Second Violin

CAESAR LINDEN, Viola,

ADOLPH HOFFMAN, Cello

Assisted by

HELEN ABBOTT BEIFELD, Soprano

LAWRENCE SCHAUFFLER, Pianist

ANTHONY LINDA, Flutist

This series of concerts is under the auspices of the City Club's Music Extension Committee. The concerts are held in the City Club Lounge and are open to the general public—men and women—admission 15 cents.

PROGRAM.

1. QUARTET—F. Major Op. 18....*Beethoven*
Allegro con brio
2. SUITE—Flute and Quartet D Minor...
 Rondo *Bach*
 Polonaise *Bourree*
 *Badinerie*
3. SONGS—The Hearts Country (from
 Manuscript).....*Helen Sears*
 Kerry Dance (old Irish).....*Malloy*
 Wiegenlied *Brahms*
 The Snowflake.....*Mallinson*
4. PIANO QUINTET.....*Dvorak*
Allegro ma non tanto
Dumka
Scherzo
5. QUARTET—Traumerei and Romanza....
 *Schumann-Hoffman*

The following luncheon conferences have been arranged for the near future.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21ST.

Claims to Constantinople,
Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Har-
vard University.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23RD.

Lloyd George and England's War Govern-
ment.
S. K. Ratcliffe, Lecturer under the London
University Board.

CLUB NOTES

Mr. Dwight L. Akers, who has served the City Club as Assistant Civic Secretary for seven and one-half years, has resigned to accept the position of Executive Secretary of the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation.

Lyman E. Cooley, whose death occurred on Feb. 3rd, was a member of the City Club since 1912. He was not only a civil engineer of high standing but also a man of unusually broad vision and catholic interests. The Daily News in a recent editorial makes the following comment on the work to which Mr. Cooley gave a large portion of his life:

"This community and the country at large loses by the death of Lyman E. Cooley a man whose life was a long effort to realize a vision of broad opportunity for the middle west through water transportation. He worked tirelessly to unite the Gulf of Mexico and the Great Lakes by an adequate waterway.

"He had the power of convincing legislative bodies of the wisdom of policies which he favored. In emergencies affecting water transportation or the welfare of the Sanitary District of Chicago, Mr. Cooley was one of the men called upon to go to Washington or Springfield as the case might be and present the needs of this community from the point of view of the trained engineer. He knew the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Des Plaines as other men knew their bank books. His logic, his broad-mindedness, his fairness and his persistence made him an effective spokesman for great internal improvements.

"The existence of the Sanitary District of Chicago is due more to Lyman E. Cooley than to any other one man, though others were important factors in bringing it into being. To Mr. Cooley the method of sewage disposal provided by the Chicago Drainage Canal was merely incidental to the larger project of water transportation between the Gulf and the Great Lakes. The waterway policy for Illinois on behalf of which Mr. Cooley worked so many years is essentially right and in future years the part he played in its development will be more fully appreciated than it is today."

The following persons have joined the Club since January 29th:

A. S. BALDWIN, Chief Engineer, Illinois Central R. R.
 F. C. BATCHELDER, President, B. & O. Terminal Railway.
 MARK E. GUERIN, Attorney.
 CHARLES JUDD, Manufacturer's Agent.
 W. LUTTRINGHAUS, Aluminum Goods Mfg. Co.
 WALTER M. KRIMBILL, Attorney.
 C. EDSON MANIERRE, Yard, Otis and Taylor (Investments).
 W. LEROY PEASE, Sears, Roebuck & Co.
 W. S. TAIT, Chief Engineer, The Concrete-Steel Products Company.
 MELVIN TROTTER, Superintendent Pacific Garden Mission.

"Wage Earning and Education" by R. R. Lutz and "The Cleveland School Survey" by Leonard P. Ayres are recent additions to the City Club library. These two volumes are a part of the report of the Education Survey of Cleveland which was completed last year. The entire report is embodied in 25 volumes, all of which are now in the Club library ready for the use of members. One of the volumes, "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools," was written by Professor C. H. Judd, of the University of Chicago, a member of the City Club.

The Committee on State Constitution of the City Club sent recently to members of the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature copies of the following resolution urging the passage of a resolution for a constitutional convention for Illinois.

Whereas, There is an obvious necessity for changes in the present constitution of Illinois, adopted more than forty-six years ago, and experience has shown how difficult it is to unite the advocates of constitutional change on any one of the many proposed amendments and make headway against the present "one article a session restriction"; and

Whereas, The only two measures which lead directly toward the adoption of all of the many proposed amendments, and which, therefore, are the only measures on which all advocates of constitutional change ought to be able to unite, are a call for a constitutional convention and an amendment to the amending clause; and

Whereas, Of the two methods, that by constitutional convention is the speedier and more comprehensive and involves no controversy as to form; and

Whereas, Public sentiment has been so emphatically in favor of a constitutional convention that both the Republican and Democratic state platforms in 1916 contained strong

declarations in favor of holding a convention; and

Whereas, A resolution for a convention has been passed by the senate of the State of Illinois and is now pending in the house of representatives; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Committee on State Constitution of the City Club of Chicago, after full discussion and consideration of the subject, that, in its judgment, all citizens of Illinois ought to unite to use their best efforts to secure the passage by the present General Assembly of the resolution now pending for a constitutional convention; be it further

Resolved, That the members of the house of representatives are hereby urged to promptly consider and adopt the pending resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be given to the press, and that copies thereof be sent to each member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois.

A bill designed to take the appointment of postmaster out of politics has just been passed by the Senate and is now pending in a conference committee between the two houses. It is in the form of an amendment to the Appropriation Bill and provides that "The office of postmaster in each class shall hereafter be a non-political office and shall be within the classified civil service and appointments thereto shall be made in accordance with the civil service rules."

The Civil Service Committee of the City Club at its meeting February 6th endorsed the pending bill and sent a letter urging its passage to all members of Congress from Chicago, to the Postmaster General, and to the chairman of the Conference Committee on Appropriations.

The Civil Service Committee of the City Club on February 7th sent the Civil Service Board of the West Chicago Park Commissioners a letter of commendation for the excellent record they have made during the past year. The Committee took this action after making a careful examination of the Sixth Annual Report of the Civil Service Board, which has just been issued. A significant part of the report is the supplement which shows the detailed story of each temporary appointment and of each original and promotional examination. This, in the opin-

ion of the committee, is information that should be required of every civil service body and would do much to guard against the abuse of temporary appointments.

The Committee of the City Club on Streets, Alleys and Bridges after careful consideration of the desirability of continuing the pneumatic postal tube service in Chicago arrived at the following conclusions which were forwarded January 30 to John H. Bankhead, chairman of the Senate Committee on Postoffice and Post Roads at Washington:

1. The relative merits of the tube service and the suggested auto-truck service can be determined only by elaborate tests covering an extended period of time. So far as the committee has been informed the tests which have been made thus far have not been sufficiently elaborate or extensive to permit of reliable conclusions.

2. It is not advisable to abandon a system now in effect which, as recognized by the postal authorities, might be extended and made a valuable adjunct to the City's mail delivery service.

3. We therefore recommend and urge that Congress provide appropriations sufficient to continue the present service for about one year, and that the Postoffice Department make adequate tests during that period in order to determine the most advisable permanent policy.

4. At the same time the committee feels that provision should be made, by appropriation if necessary, for a close study of the question of extending the tube system to serve all the business sections of the city in a degree similar to the service now given to a few sections.

The Press reports that the Senate on Feb. 14th approved the retention of the pneumatic tube postal service and incorporated an amendment in the Appropriation Bill providing for an investigation of the tube system with a view to purchase. The House has already approved of the retention of the tube service but presumably its concurrence in the amendment will still be necessary.

AT THE BRITISH FRONT

An intimate view of the war from the British side was given to members of the City Club by Captain Ian Hay Beith, at a meeting on January 10th. Captain Beith is the author of the book "The First 100,000," which pictures the life and experiences of the first recruits in Kitchener's Army. He was a member of the Scottish 9th Division, which was the first division of Kitchener's army to set foot on the soil of France. He served on the British front for over a year and his picture of French life was accordingly that of a first hand observer. Captain Beith came to America to supervise the British government's exhibit at the Allied Bazaar, and has been lecturing extensively throughout the country. His talk contained an interesting array of stories and pictures of trench life—"trench gossip," he called it. He said in part:

"The landing of the Scottish 9th Division, of which I was a member, in France, in a way marked the close of the first period of the war and the opening of the second. The first period of the war consisted of our holding grimly on to the line with our little regular army, perfectly equipped and trained, but too small to be effective. This little army had to be deliberately sacrificed to hold the situation until new troops could be brought into action. The arrival of the new troops signalized the opening of the second period of the war.

"In this second period, we had men in abundance, but not enough big guns or munitions, and, of course, this is a war of big guns and munitions. So in this second period all we could do was to hang on and harass the enemy, while men and women at home toiled night and day to turn out munitions of war. All that year our line was held grimly and doggedly by men with no previous military training, no military tradition to uphold them or big guns to support them. The best we could do after being pounded by the Germany artillery was to save our own ammunition for a great burst of retaliation—every Saturday afternoon, so to speak.

"During this time things were not going well on the Russian front. Every now and then we would hear great cheer-

ing from the German trenches and a notice board would go up announcing the fall of Warsaw or some other German success. Both sides were apparently very eager to pass information of this sort across to the enemy. For instance, just after the Dublin Riots—an incident of which Germany had very early information—a notice board went up in the German trenches right opposite a body of Irish soldiers saying (in very poor English) 'Irishmen, the English are shooting down your wives and children in the streets of Dublin.' This notice had a very different effect from that expected by the Germans. The Irish soldiers asked permission from their officers to reply, and having received this permission, went out of the trenches that afternoon over into the German lines, captured the trench where the notice board had been displayed and brought the board away as a trophy.

"Finally conditions began to improve. Or supply of guns and munitions were increased and finally were even in excess of the German supplies. It became obvious last December that the Germans were about to make an attempt to break through the British line at Ypres—'Wypers' as many of our soldiers call it—and on to Calais. The bombardment from the German guns became heavier and heavier and then stopped dead; which meant that the infantry was about to attack and that within a few minutes the artillery would begin to drop a curtain fire behind our lines to prevent the escape of the soldiers in our trenches.

"A gas attack was also started. We put on our gas helmets and waited. But, unknown either to the enemy or to those of us who had been in the front trenches, 600 British guns had been assembled at this point and these guns, which, during the German bombardment had been silent, now began to reply. Within a space of about five minutes 30,000 shells were dropped on the German line. The great Christmas attack of the Germans never came off. That demonstration by the British was a signal that the balance of munitions was now in our favor and signalized the beginning of the third period of the war.

"I am often asked when the war will

end. I cannot answer that question. I can only say that so far as we are concerned the war has only begun, for it was only on the first of July, 1916, that we were really ready. On July 1, 1916, the French and British went out from the trenches and attacked the German lines over a 16-mile front on the Somme. This was a very critical event in the history of the British army. We had heretofore been fighting defensively under the most adverse conditions, and the question now was 'Are these amateur soldiers, but a short time ago clerks and shop keepers, equal to the machine-made, thoroughly trained soldiers of the Germans?' The answer is that all the strongly fortified ridge which we attacked on the first of July is now in the hands of the French and British. The ground slopes away from the ridge and we are now in a position where artillery can command these lower slopes. Our supply of munitions is double what it was in July of last year and there are now more than 5,000 munition factories working continuously in England. As soon as the weather and the condition of the ground permits, we can continue in our attack from this point. I think it is safe to say that we are now in a position where we will be able to restore Northern France and Belgium to their rightful owners for the rest of time.

"When we went away at first, the people in England were not awake to the war. The general attitude was, 'Let George do it.' But since then there has been an extraordinary revolution. The attitude of mind has changed completely, industry has been nationalized and a new government is at the head of the nation. Throughout the country every able-bodied man is either in the army or serving in some necessary industry. We have 2,000,000 men on the firing line in France, 140,000 in Salonica, 180,000 in Egypt, 120,000 in Mesopotamia, a large number in service in the colonies and between one and two million at home in training. Besides this we have 400,000 men in the navy and about a million at work in navy construction and repairs.

"I must say that the women of England have grasped the needs of the situation more quickly than the men. The men for a long time indulged in a lot of heavy talk about not taking neces-

sary men away from the industries. The women said: 'You go on to the war and we will look after the industrial output.' The women have accordingly taken their places in almost every line of work.

"Recently I watched a very interesting procession of women workers in London. It was made up of two classes: (1) Those engaged in the production of munitions, in Red Cross work or other work directly connected with the prosecution of the war; (2) those who have taken the places of men in other lines of work, thus liberating men for service at the front. In this procession were women who were pages in hotels, letter-carriers, farm girls, chauffeurs, street car conductors, engine cleaners in their overalls, etc., etc. Some of the girls had their faces badly stained by acids used in the manufacture of lyddite shells—they had deliberately sacrificed their good looks during the period of the war.

"Besides these, there is another group of women who have never had to work for a living, whose existence heretofore has been merely the pursuit of a good time. Many of them, of course, had been at work in charities, where there was a maximum of lime-light and a minimum of work, but here there is no lime-light and the work is hard and uninteresting. Some of these women are aiding voluntarily in the production of munitions, accepting no pay—working, for instance, on Sundays and at other times when the munition workers are off duty. Some of them are serving in hospitals, not romantically nursing heroes back to life—trained women are doing *this*—but in scrubbing floors, answering door bells and doing the meaner work. In this way they relieve the stronger and more experienced women for the more responsible duties. And some of them are serving in canteens and rest clubs for munition workers or soldiers on leave.

"A girl whom I know in London, whom to allay any suspicion I will say is my wife, serves in a great London clubhouse, which has been turned into a club for soldiers on leave. Any soldier is privileged to go into this club and order a meal. My wife treasures very highly a tip of sixpence, which she received from a private soldier—half his

day's pay. He told her to go and buy some candy with it! She did not buy the candy, because this was the first money she had ever earned—and would probably be the last, and that sixpence has very romantic associations for her.

"The outstanding characteristic of the soldiers in the trenches is cheerfulness. They grumble a lot, of course, but the things they grumble about are the little things, not the big things. They will undergo the most intense bombardment from the enemy's guns for forty-eight hours at a time without sacrificing their cheerfulness—and grumble about the jam. Our enemy on the other hand takes the war so seriously and sacredly that to see our soldiers go into battle whistling the latest music hall songs or kicking a foot ball, as they did on the Somme, grates on his sense of professional decency.

"In December, 1916, I was in the trenches before Loos. Outside us the enemy had thrust a great promontory of underground trenches which were named the Hohenzollern Redoubt. It was our desire to take this system of trenches, but before doing that we had to find out how many communicating trenches they had. This factor would govern the speed with which the enemy could be reinforced. There was a regimental conference, and one young officer said he thought the best way to find this out was for someone to go and look! We pointed out to him that it was rather unusual, to say the least, for anyone to go out in front of the enemy's trenches in broad day light, but he said that while our artillery was in action the Germans would probably not be observing very closely and that he thought it could be done. So that afternoon he went out over the parapet of the trenches and worked across to the enemy's lines. But he had forgotten one little thing—that is, our own artillery. After he had gone a little way a shell struck about fifty feet from him and a great clod of earth hit him in the head and sent him back to our trenches with a bad headache. After partaking of a cup of tea and telephoning a message to the artillery, he went over the parapet again and after a time got back with a very accurate and care-

fully prepared map of the enemy's communicating trenches. I am glad to say that he was awarded the Military Cross.

"Another story illustrates the attitude of mind of the men. There were two friends in separate bays of a trench. Whenever a shell burst nearby, one would cry out, 'Are you all right, Bill?' And the answer would come back, 'Yes, I'm all right.' After this had happened several times, the second man called out, 'Yes, I am all right, but what's the excitement about?' The first one answered, 'The men over here have gotten up a sweep-stake on who's going to be hit next, and I have drawn you.'

"There is a story about two men who went into a saloon to get a drink. One of them came from Aberdeen and the other one did not believe in paying for anything either. But my story is about two *other* men from Aberdeen at the front who were not in the habit of giving anything away. Last summer it was my grim task to help in searching the battle field for wounded men after an advance. We looked especially for one of these Aberdeen men who was reported missing. After a time we found him. He had been lying wounded for 36 hours. The other Aberdeen man, his friend, was in our searching party. As we put him on the stretcher the wounded man asked us to open his pocket book and he took from it a five franc note which he offered to his friend. 'Here, Jock,' he said, 'take this, I will not be wanting it in the place I'm going to.' The other man refused to take it and the most extraordinary altercation took place on that shell torn battle field as to who should have that five franc note. Finally Jock took it with the worst grace in the world and the wounded man was borne away and. I am happy to say, made speedy recovery.

"Thus the war has its moments of comedy, its moments of tragedy and its moments of unutterable monotony. But, whatever comes, we are reconciled to the idea that it would never do to have it cropping out again—as it would do if we fought it to an inconclusive finish. We must nail it down now so that such a war may never happen again."

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND PREPAREDNESS.

Rev. R. A. White, of the Publicity Bureau of the Universal Military Training League, and President Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago, addressed the City Club on January 19th at luncheon on the subject of universal military training and its place in the general program for preparedness. Mr. Frank G. Logan presided.

In his introductory remarks, Mr. Logan referred to the Chamberlain Bill (Senate Bill 1695) providing for six months' compulsory training for all male citizens who have reached the age of 18. "If this bill is passed," Mr. Logan said, "every boy in the country, rich or poor, who has reached the specified age, will be called to the service of the country to learn something of military science and to be taught discipline and obedience, qualities so much needed by our young people of today. I know of nothing better calculated to bring peace to our country for all time than such a reserve of half a million trained young men each year behind our army and navy."

Mr. White spoke as follows:

"The only quarrel I have with the Universal Military Training League or the Chamberlain Bill, which it is backing, is that it is not strenuous enough. If I had my way, I would make the term of intensive service in the army one whole year at least, instead of six months, before passing the men into the great federal reserve.

"I am in favor of universal military training because as an American I believe in sane preparedness. I believe in it not for offense, but for defense. This country has no revenges to wreak nor are we in need of extending our territories—we are a pacifist nation at heart. We want merely to be let alone, to live out the destiny which has been prophesied by our location on the globe, our history and our American ideals. Nevertheless, in this war-mad world it is the part of sanity to be prepared against any emergency.

"One of the most fallacious of the arguments being circulated today is that the nation would be safer unarmed, that our weakness would be respected. But can you point to any case in history

where a weak nation has been respected by a more powerful nation, when the smaller nation stood in the way of its economic or military advantage? What about Belgium, what about Serbia? What about the fate of the Philippines, the tragedy of Formosa and the present situation of that great nation of four hundred million men and women, whose code has always been that of the radical pacifist—China? China today, because of its weakness, lies with the iron heel of the Germany of the East, Japan, upon its neck.

"I believe in a sane preparedness, first of all, for the protection of our citizens and our flag anywhere on the face of the globe. Any person who would fail to resent an invasion of the rights of our citizens abroad, or an insult to the flag, lacks the red blood of our forefathers.

"We should be prepared also to protect ourselves against the eventualities of the European conflict. I have visited everyone of the nations at war and think I know something of the temper and the economic and military ambitions of these nations. In a world so organized the fortunes of this American nation are ever at a hazard unless we offer to the world an attitude not of defense, but of sufficient defense.

"How long will America be able to remain neutral while the European conflict goes on? I hope we will be able to weather it, but we must face the situation. Take England—our traditional friend: Our business men today know that we cannot safely ship one ounce of produce to a neutral nation without the consent of England. She insists upon opening our mail. Our rights under international law are being constantly invaded by her.

"And Germany, which I admire for her efficiency one of the splendid nations of the world: Germany has torpedoed our ships and killed American citizens. On the Lusitania, sunk by a German submarine, there sleep, rocked by the waves, more than one hundred American men and women and children, and we have done nothing more than to protest. If you stand for the kind of citizenship which permits such deeds to

be done with no action except a protest, then the future of this nation is at a hazard.

"We must understand, of course, that with these nations at war we must forgive a great deal, but there is a limit beyond which our ideals and our self-respect will not permit us to go. It is humiliating to me that in the face of these conditions we can do nothing more than protest. I do not criticize the administration for keeping us out of war, but I do blame it for shilly-shallying with this question of preparedness.

"It will be wise for you men to keep your eyes upon the new Germany of the Orient with its ambitions. I believe one of the points of danger to the United States in the future lies in the Japanese race. Japan is overflowing with a surplus population, which must find room. South of her she already possesses Formosa, half way to the Philippines. Across the sea she holds Korea and a large part of Manchuria and proposes to control the lives and resources of the four hundred million people of China. Go to the Hawaiian Islands today and of the 190,000 people there you will find that 70,000 are Japanese, still owing allegiance to Japan, leading their life apart, having their own schools and speaking their own language. And with the complacency that marks us, we are permitting these conditions to exist.

"Japan in her heart does not like us, chiefly because we have discriminated against Japanese immigrants. I do not blame the Japanese for this. I admire them in fact for their pride. The discrimination cuts hard and deep. But this is one of the things that we will have to settle with the Japanese. With 600,000 men in her army and navy and with the Philippines right at her door, she can take them away in a night if she chooses—so military men agree.

"We have loudly proclaimed the open door in China. But Japan is closing that door in our faces. What are we going to do about it? Japan would like to establish a Monroe Doctrine of the East. The difference between such a Monroe Doctrine and that of the United States is that our own is not to extend our territory, but merely to defend ourselves against the military ambitions of other nations, whereas the Japanese Monroe

Doctrine aims to allow Japan of all the world to exploit China.

"In conclusion I wish to repeat, we don't want to fight, but it is only the part of sanity that we should prepare for any emergency. In the words of the old English rhyme we ought to be able to say:

"We don't want to fight,
But *by jingo* if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
And we've got the money too."

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

"I want to state briefly my reasons for coming to believe in the last few years not in the desirability but in the absolute necessity of universal military training. For many years I believed sincerely in the progress of the world. I believed that civilization was advancing everywhere; that with the advance of science, justice, and law the nations were getting beyond the conditions of aggression and greed of years ago. I believed that the partition of Africa among the powers of Europe was a just and wise thing, because Africa was occupied simply by savage races, and its partition meant the introduction into that continent of modern civilization and law. I was glad that this partition had taken place without fighting. I was satisfied that small nations which conformed to the ideas of order and justice that mark modern civilization were quite safe from the ambitions of powerful states. I believed that when small powers like Haiti and San Domingo were not able to maintain settled conditions it was best for them and for the world that larger nations should step in to control them—not to exploit them, but to establish and maintain order. I believed that peaceful nations of an old civilization, such as China, would be let alone, and would be allowed to progress along their own chosen lines.

"But about three years ago I spent several months in China, and I there learned that there was practically no nation of the earth which held that view of China but the United States. Other nations did not believe that China could develop properly without the intervention of European countries, and these powers were waiting hungrily to divide and annex the ancient empire.

"I have come now to change my mind about some of the other things in which I used to believe. I believe now that there are powers in the world—great powers, too, without mentioning any names—which are essentially piratical; which intend to use their armies and navies to take away the possessions of other nations; and that is essentially piracy. I believe the United States is in serious danger of such piratical attack; that our neighbors to the south, our possessions across the sea, and our own continental territory, are in danger of invasion. We know that from a military standpoint this could easily be accomplished. Our ports could be seized, our railroads, coal mines, and factories appropriated, and our territory invaded. I am convinced that not only *can* this happen, but that it is *likely* to happen unless we take wise measures to avoid it. It is a question of the facts as they are.

"To protect ourselves we need to be properly organized and equipped. In

my opinion the only proper way to prepare is through universal military training, and I use that phrase without any qualification. Every boy, I think, should be trained in the fundamentals of military science, and particular care should be given to the training of young men for officers. We should pay careful attention also to the development of a body of scientifically trained men as artillerists. Our transportation, our banks, all our industrial resources should be capable of mobilization for an emergency. Furthermore, the great body of women in this country should be trained to do their part, not only to take the places of men in time of war, but to aid in the care of the sick and wounded. Our whole nation should be so organized that every man and woman should be able to do his or her part when the emergency comes.

"If our nation is not possessed of insensate folly it will prepare now and not later to meet any emergency that may arise."

TURKEY AND THE GREAT WAR.

Turkey's recent declaration that she entered the war without any idea of the conquest of entente territory may have a basis of fact if the interpretation of Turkey's situation by Prof. Lybyer, of the History Department of the University of Illinois, is true. "If Turkey lives through this war with her nationality intact, it is about all she can hope for," he said. Prof. Lybyer spoke at the City Club on "Turkey and the Great War," Friday, January 26th. For a number of years Prof. Lybyer was a teacher at Roberts College at Constantinople and his views on the Turkish question are accordingly based on first hand observation.

"The problem of Turkey," Prof. Lybyer said, "is one of the most complicated and perplexing of the problems which have troubled European diplomacy. It is a question which has lasted for many years and is entangled in the history of nearly every other nation.

"Turkey's geographical position in the world is one of tremendous significance. Its position in the ancient world was very central as the old maps will show. For many years, at the height of its power

and afterwards, it controlled many of the great highways of commerce between Europe, Asia and Africa. It was, in fact, a sort of bridgeway between these continents. Up to 1683 Turkish possessions extended a long way along these routes. The Ottoman nation at the height of its power, had the reputation of being the strongest in the world, having the most efficient government and the most feared army. Turkey really did a great service to the world in unifying and maintaining order in territories under its control which had prior to that been in a state of anarchy and feudal war.

"The Turkish government at that time was very efficient. It was in form a sort of slave oligarchy—many of the best men of subject nations being placed in positions of military and political power. In this way, for four centuries, were provided the brains that governed the Turkish Empire.

"Another great source of power, however, was the great Mohammedan religious system. This provided the intellectual talent of the empire. In it centered perhaps the greatest educational system of the time. It was, however, a conserva-

tive force standing in the way of political or social improvement.

"Beginning in 1683, there was a marked change in the character of the Turkish Empire. After years of military conquest, the Turk's military fortunes began to ebb. In 1683 the Turks made their last attempt to take Vienna and then gradually by slow steps the boundaries of the Turkish Empire were rolled back from Europe. Turkey evidently had had enough of military conquest and preferred the more quiet order of things. And simultaneously while the Turkish Empire was being converted to peace the military ambitions of the Christian nations, Russia and Austria, rose to their highest point and Turkey was put on the defensive.

"In 1914 Turkey had been cut down to hardly a third of the territory which she had formerly possessed. In Europe, she had only a small bridge-head on which was located Constantinople and Adrianople. Her possessions in North Africa and many of the Mediterranean islands, though still nominally under Turkish rule, were controlled by England, France and Italy. And Germany, with her plans for linking up the central powers with Asia Minor by the Bagdad railroad, had a large control over the internal politics of the nation. Here of course was a great conflict between Germany and Russia. Germany's plans for a place in the sun in Mesopotamia meant a belt of control from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf across the Balkans and Turkey, which lay directly in the way of Russia's plans to extend to the Mediterranean. So we have again the problem of these trade routes. It is indeed a great pity that the nations will not make these trade routes free. They are free, of course, in times of peace and if their freedom were guaranteed one of the great causes of war would be removed.

"In 1914 the young Turks were in power. This group hoped for the promotion of Turkey again to a place of real power in the world, free from the leading strings of Christian nations. They hoped to push the Turkish control back to the Caucasus, take possession of the Suez Canal and restore Turkey to its old position in the world.

"The Turks were urged into the war by Germany and the entrance of Turkey

into the war initiated the chain of events which perhaps saved the central powers from defeat. Turkey was prepared for the war from the start. The army was mobilized and two German warships then in Turkish waters were put under the Turkish flag. The entente tried to bolster up Turkey by promising the integrity of its territory if it would remain neutral. Turkey had had a long experience with European diplomacy and realized that the Christian powers were in the game for themselves and not for love of Turkey. They had had promises violated before and did not put too much faith in the promises made to them at this time.

"Great pressure was put on Turkey by German representatives to push her into the war. It was apparent, however, that the leaders in the Turkish government were divided and the question was finally decided by the action of the Goeben, one of the German warships under the Turkish flag, in bombarding Russian ports, including Odessa.

"The young Turks hoped that they would be able to induce Northern Africa and India to revolt, take Egypt and extend their conquests in other directions. Their plans, however, did not proceed with any great success. The war, so far as Turkey is concerned, has been fought mainly in four fields, the Dardanelles, the Suez, Mesopotamia and in the Caucasus, or Armenian highlands. Turkey's success has been almost entirely defensive—as in the Dardanelles campaign. The Dardanelles campaign was a war in itself.

"The treatment of Armenia by the Turks constitutes a dark and terrible page in the history of the war. The persecution of the Armenians has been not so much religious as political. The Armenians are mainly sympathetic with the Allies and many of them fought with Russia against the Turks. This gave the young Turk party a slender excuse for what they wished to do. They decided upon the removal of the Armenians from the territory which they occupied. Theoretically it was only deportation but many were killed and women and children were driven out upon the deserts to die of hunger and thirst. In this way nearly a third of the Armenian nation has been destroyed; probably a million lives have been sacrificed in this way.

"Turkey is on the military side at the present time very strong, but she has lost politically. Cyprus and Egypt formerly under her nominal control have been seized by England. Italy holds Rhodes and many of the Turkish islands are being held by the entente powers for supply bases. Turkey is also at the present time very dependent on Germany, although Germany's attitude is resented by many Turks, and her hold on Turkey is not so complete as is sometimes thought.

"Turkey cannot hope to gain in the present war. If the entente powers hold out for the full measure of their announced claims a thorough partition of Turkey is bound to take place. Turkey would be left only an interior nation in Asia Minor without even a seaport. It is said by some that even such a Turkey would be closely under the control of the

powers, as her position would still be across some of the great trade routes.

"But even if German arms should be victorious in the war, Turkey's position would still be very little better than before the war, for Germany's ambitions for the control of the Bagdad highway would mean that she would have to exert a very considerable control over Turkish internal politics.

"In any case hardly any settlement in Turkey's case is likely to last for more than thirty years. It has been her history in the past that some upheaval has come at about this interval and it is hardly to be hoped that a settlement in Turkey can last for longer than this time. If Turkey lives through the present war as a nation it is about all she can hope for."

SAFEGUARDING AND UPBUILDING NATIONAL VITALITY.

In these days of insistence upon efficiency, the problem of the proper care of the body is a pertinent one. Ill-health means impaired vitality, loss of energy and lowered standards of work. In order to maintain more effectively higher standards of physical health, the Life Extension Institute of New York was organized three years ago. With Ex-President Taft as chairman of the Board of Directors, Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale, as chairman of the Hygiene Reference Board, one hundred eminent scientists, including such men as General Gorgas, General Rupert Blue of the United States Public Health Service, Professor Vaughan of Ann Arbor, Dr. Mayo, Dr. Rosenau, and others, the standing of the Institute in scientific circles is assured. Its recent book, "How to Live," by Professor Fisher and Dr. Fisk is one of the most readable and, at the same time authoritative, of modern discussions of personal hygiene and the laws of health.

Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, the Director of the Institute, in his address before the City Club at luncheon February 7th, outlined the work of the organization and spoke of the need of safeguarding the health of the American people.

"At this time," said Dr. Fisk, "when

we are called upon to defend something much dearer than life or health, the question of national vitality and the physical stamina of our people is one that merits our earnest attention. If, as General Wood states, more than 50% of the men eligible by age for military service are disqualified because of physical defects, this means that from ten to twelve million men in the flush of youth and prime of life, are not only unfitted for war, but to some degree for the struggle for existence in time of peace. The evidence derived from the examinations made by the Life Extension Institute of many thousands of people in all walks of life supports the view of General Wood.

"More than fifty per cent of those examined have been found in need of some form of medical attention, and practically all were to some degree defective. The perfect man does not exist. Also we find on examining census records that during the past thirty years there has been a lowering of vitality in adult life, an increase in the death rate from chronic diseases most prevalent in middle and later life, showing that the trend of national vitality is downward rather than upward, notwithstanding the fall in the general death rate due to the saving of lives in in-

fancy and childhood. In Massachusetts and New Jersey the original registration states the death rate after forty years of age has distinctly increased for the past thirty years. The latest life tables issued by the Census Bureau show a diminished expectancy of life after that age as compared to thirty years ago. This is not true of other civilized countries, such as Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and Prussia, where, until the great war, the death rate at every age period showed a distinct improvement. The evidence as to impaired national vitality is strengthened by results of examination of applicants for admission to the Marine Corps, West Point and Annapolis. Of the picked men applying to West Point and Annapolis 20 to 30% are declined for physical reasons alone. Only 3% applying to the Marine Corps are accepted. The causes of this decline in national vitality are various and there are varying opinions as to the great underlying cause, but this may probably be found in the tremendous expansion of our country in the past thirty years. In that time the population has doubled and there has been an enormous industrial and manufacturing expansion. There has also been a steady drift away from the land to the city. In one decade the population of the cities increased ten million while that of the land increased only four. The complexity of city life, the nervous tension, the mental over-activity and physical under-activity have contributed to lower the resistance of the race.

"Among the causes of physical degeneration, disease, old age and death, may be mentioned the following: Some form of poison or infection which may enter the system through the tonsils, or teeth, or external injury; some form of starvation caused by improper nourishment and poor assimilation of food; some form of physical or mental strain too great for the system to bear; last and probably the most important, physical inactivity, failure to take sufficient exercise.

"When a man dies at forty-five years of age of apoplexy, or nephritis, or of heart disease, we wag our heads sagely and say: 'The pity of it . . . taken off in his prime . . . what a cruel fate for his family,' etc., but are we conscious either

individually as family medical attendant, or collectively as a profession, of having fully utilized the resources of science to protect the public against such catastrophies? When a man past sixty years of age dies from such maladies, we, as a profession, 'lie down,' so to speak, and accept such an occurrence as an 'act of God' or whatever equivalent our religion or philosophy offers to explain an event beyond the control of man.

"When a death at any age occurs from typhoid, from smallpox, or even from tuberculosis, we cry out, 'Whose fault is it?' Search the community and find why this thing was permitted to happen! No one questions the controllability of the death rate from communicable diseases, but only within the past few years has any protest been raised against premature death from chronic diseases of the vital organs.

"When we once critically consider this subject, plain common sense, without the aid of elaborate statistics, tells us that there is an enormous premature loss of life and a proportionate physical impairment and social burden of disease, incompetence and suffering, which could in a large measure be prevented by thoroughgoing, conscientious study of the etiology of these maladies and a painstaking effort to gain the co-operation of our patients and of the public generally in applying this knowledge for their protection.

"To guide individuals so that they may be not only protected from the incidence of insidious, low grade infection, but also rendered resistant to micro-organisms, which, in the nature of things, must inevitably gain entrance to their bodies, requires a close study of the new science of personal hygiene and a painstaking effort to apply its principles.

"It is not enough to keep people out of sick beds—we must help them to attain the best there is in life. We cannot do this by slamming our office doors in their faces until they appear with some well-developed, pathological condition. We can do it only by casting a pathological horoscope, as it were, by studying the individual and forecasting his probable future if he continues his present mode of life, and by determining to what probable degree his future may

be modified by changing his living habits or having physical defects corrected that invite infection or impairment.

"The first step in promoting health is to know the facts about our bodily condition and ways to improve it. We have many organizations to combat disease but not enough attention has been paid to the development of personal hygiene. The reading of books on this subject is not sufficient. The ordinary layman is not sufficiently acquainted with medical science to apply suggestions to his own case. The human body is complex and needs great care to keep running properly. It is, therefore, necessary that periodical medical examinations should be made with thoroughness to see whether there are parts which need correcting, just as a business man keeps closely in touch with the state of his books so that he can find out faults in his business organization.

"The Life Extension Institute was organized to perform this service for the public on the basis of a self-supporting philanthropy. The Institute does not supply medical treatment, but gives guidance in personal hygiene and as to the need for medical treatment. Its system of arranging periodic examinations insures the application of these principles of correct living with scientific precision. It has about 5,000 examiners throughout the country who are trained in its method and has the cordial co-operation of the leaders in medicine and public health work. The usual procedure is for the physical examination to be made by the local examiner while the pathological work is done at the Home Office Laboratory in New York. These data are then carefully studied by the trained staff of the Institute, who prepare a personal message to the subscriber informing him of the results of the examination and giving directions in regard to improving his condition either by correction of living habits, diet, exercise, etc., or by such medical treatment as he might require."

At a later meeting with Dr. Fisk of the committee appointed to consider the question, it was agreed that the group form of medical examination previously suggested by Dr. Cabot, was not feasible. Dr. Britton, who presided at this meeting, suggested that the existing organiza-

tion supplied by the Life Extension Institute offered a medium through which the essentials desired by the committee could be attained.

The question of supplying the special service to a group of City Club members at a special rate was submitted. The regular \$10.00 rate service of the Institute was expanded to include not only the standard examination, with thorough physical survey, but blood examination and the privilege of special tests and X-Ray examinations in those cases where they were specially indicated. The service would also include the monthly health letters of the Institute and chemical and microscopical examination of the urine every three months. There was an active discussion favorable to the plan and a number of members started the group by signing the subscription form.

"Like other experts, teachers of physical culture are divided in regard to military training. The negative side was strongly taken by Dr. Sargent Saturday before the Senate sub-committee which was listening to testimony against compulsory military drill. Ordinary physical training, he declared, is much to be preferred and on general principles he seems likely to be right; a military tool that will serve for an axe, a spade, or a breastplate is not likely to be ideal for chopping or digging or stopping bullets and military training is devised to make soldiers, not merely to give health and strength. Probably what makes so many physical culturists favor universal military service is the principle of compulsion. While they may agree with Dr. Sargent as to the relative merits of drill and free exercise, they are anxious to have the lazy and indifferent forced to undergo training and see no way to bring it about except through compulsion; some of them seem to be thinking even more of that side of the case than of preparedness and are ready to swallow militarism for the sake of its physical benefits. It is a great question, which reaches far and in many directions, and specialists of all kinds, including the military, may profit from other points of view.—*Springfield Republican*, Jan. 18, 1917.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE.

Is America to come out of her isolation and take an active place of leadership in world politics? This is inevitable, according to the advocates of the League to Enforce Peace. Whatever risks may be involved in such a policy, yet even greater risks must be faced if we shirk responsibility and try to remain aloof from the life of other nations. The best way to avoid being dragged into the military maelstrom is to take a boldly constructive initiative and ask the other nations to join with us in organizing the world to maintain justice and peace.

The claims of the League to Enforce Peace were ably presented to the City Club, Saturday afternoon, February 3rd, by Mr. Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent. He said in part:

"At this moment there is perhaps being enacted in Washington one of the most momentous events in the history of the United States since 1861. Less than two weeks ago the President issued a message to the world which, in my opinion, is destined to live forever in the history of America. Our President, who occupies what is perhaps the highest national office in the world, has risen above his national office into an international sphere to establish the principle of co-operation rather than competition in international relations.

"One hundred years ago the philosopher Kant said that it would be impossible to establish peace permanently in the world until the world is politically organized. If he was right, when this war is over there must be an attempt to rear a new world political organization on the ashes of the old. Three things must be done: First, we must establish democracy everywhere—in the United States as well as in other nations. second, we must develop good will among the nations. Third, we must create an international machinery for the doing of international business.

"Democracy is today extending itself everywhere throughout the world. Every nation of the earth but Siam has some form of representative government now. Good will is being spread throughout the earth by various means, important among which are the churches and

schools. International machinery, however, must be created by the governments of the world. The international organization of the world is the only place where our government can extend its influence for peace outside our own country. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should thoroughly discuss and understand this question so that when the nations are gathered at the round table for the final peace settlement we will be prepared with definite propositions.

"Militarists say that armaments are in the last analysis the only defense of a nation. Pacifists say, on the contrary, that there would have been no war except for armaments. Both are right. How can we resolve this apparent paradox? The London Spectator advances the preposterous suggestion that one nation might disarm the others and then disarm itself. Another method would be to call a conference of nations and agree to disarm. Since the German peace offer was made there has been a remarkable acceptance among the people of the fact that there must be some method of bringing about a reduction of armaments. The possibility of such a limitation was recognized when we passed the last navy bill, which included a provision that the President, in the event of an arrangement for a reduction of armaments, can stop the naval program provided for in that bill. Guarded statements from other nations recently indicate that such a reduction is not at all impossible.

"At one time the United States were a group of colonies, each having its own military and naval force. When this nation was formed the states abolished their individual armies and navies and it became the duty of our national government through a national army and navy to give protection to the individual states. This gave to the country better protection at a much less cost. At the same time judicial machinery was created by which the disputes of the states could be settled.

"The nations of the world today can take a step in this same direction. There is no reason why an international court, executive and parliament should not be created to establish the common will of

the nations. If such a league had a force greater than that of any other nation or alliance of nations outside the league, it could reduce its armament to a point similar to that of these other nations. It would then become to the advantage of these other nations to join the league and the armaments would be correspondingly reduced.

"To illustrate, suppose instead of forty-six separate nations you think of forty-six frontier farmers going around with their pockets filled with pistols and bowie knives. When this situation of private warfare becomes intolerable, how do they establish order? They do it simply by the exercise of public opinion or by referring questions to arbitration. They form a vigilance committee. Every time a new man joins the committee, it increases by so much the force behind the committee and decreases the force on the outside until one or two armed policemen are able to keep the peace. So it is with the nations of the world. Each is separately armed—what else could you expect but a lash? If Germany won't come into the league, we would maintain an armament a little larger than hers to hold her at bay until economic or other pressure were exercised to force her in the league. What would happen in Germany? The socialists and liberals would complain about the high taxes for maintaining a large armament and Germany would ultimately be forced to join. That would strengthen the league and reduce its opposition, thus making the decrease in armaments possible.

"The idea of a league to enforce peace was first announced in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, June, 1915. It has been described as the only constructive idea born during this war of universal destruction. Of what does the idea consist? Of four propositions:

"1. The nations should constitute a court before which all justiciable cases must come.

"2. All non-justiciable cases must come before a council of conciliation.

"3. The nations in the league would agree to use all the sanctions—economic, military, religious, political, etc.—against any nation which refused in any dispute to submit its case to the court. This does not mean that when a court has

passed upon a case the league should use its armed strength to enforce the decision.

"4. A world legislature should be established where the nations would meet to discuss their international relations.

"In this idea we have the beginnings of a world government. It is primitive and undeveloped, it is true, but a step toward a world state. There would be four stages in such a development.

"1. The creation of world courts. We are in this stage now, for we have at least the germ of an international court in the Hague Tribunal.

"2. An agreement to use these courts. Most everyone today would agree to this.

"3. An agreement among the nations to use force to secure the submission of disputes to these courts. This is the point for which we are striving today.

"4. The enforcement of courts. The world is not ready as yet to go that far. However, we ought to be willing to put our case before a court of conciliation and use force to compel others to do so.

"One of the chief objections to the formation of such a league from the American point of view is a possible conflict with the Monroe Doctrine. I maintain that there is no such conflict. If Germany, for instance, should try to take Cuba under any pretext, every nation in the league would stand by us until our case had been fully discussed before the court. If the court decides in our favor, well and good; if not, there is nothing to compel us to follow the decision of the court and the Monroe Doctrine is in no way impaired. We can still defend our rights as we see them.

"Take a somewhat different case. If the Japanese should try to buy Magdalena Bay in Mexico, the United States could protest to the court on the grounds of a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. The court could issue an injunction and if Japan failed to obey, all the nations of the world would help us. If the decision went against us, we could still use our forces against Japan. The action of the court would merely delay the

question for a full discussion of its merits.

"The United States seems destined to lead in this movement for a league to enforce peace. If when the German peace offer was made a few weeks ago, Germany had agreed to join the league of the sort I have described and reduce its armament, it would have demonstrated its sincerity. Germany's decision on the submarine question, however, has demonstrated that the German call for peace was not for a just peace, but for a German peace.

"If we go into this war we should enter it not because our rights have been invaded but in order to do our part in a just settlement. We should join in the war as a matter of duty and not of rights; that being the case we should first get from the allies assurances that they are fighting for the same things that we are. We don't want to contribute in any way toward the imperialistic ambitions of other nations.

"Finally, let us remember that the United States is in itself the greatest league to enforce peace that is known to history. And let us add now to the declaration of independence a declaration of inter-dependence of the nations of the world."

One Day's Rest In Seven.

A bill will probably be introduced at the present session of the Illinois Legislature providing for one day's rest in seven for working women. Referring to legislation for a weekly rest day for women, the American Labor Legislation Review for December, 1916, says:

"Physiologists have demonstrated that restriction of daily hours within reasonable limits is not sufficient to keep a worker in good health, but that a weekly rest day is also required to repair the ravages of fatigue. Thus science joins with religion in demanding that regular work be given up on one day of seven. A weekly rest day is provided for women workers by law in the six states of Arkansas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania, and in the District of Columbia. The modern laws for one day of rest in seven for all workers in specified industries, of which

the best examples are at present found in Massachusetts and New York, provide another means of giving working women a weekly rest day. In addition to these direct enactments, strong indirect pressure for the six-day working week is exercised by all the laws setting maximum weekly limits of six times the daily limit or less. The eight and forty-eight-hour law of the District of Columbia and the ten and fifty-five-hour law of Wisconsin are examples of such statutes. But where only a daily and not a weekly limit is fixed, as in Idaho, Illinois, Washington, and other states, or where the weekly limit is seven times the daily limit, as in Arizona, seven-day work is not discouraged, but invited.

"The necessity of continuous employment in the telephone service has too often led to its entire exclusion from the old type of rest-day law. But in Oregon through the industrial commission plan of regulation, it has proved possible to insure periodic rest days for which the statute law made no provision, while still preserving the efficiency of the service. A weekly rest day is required in telephone exchanges in Portland, but in the larger exchanges elsewhere a six-hour day and a complete rest day must be given every fortnight, while the commission will consider special schedules on application for small exchanges of less than ten operators.

"The question of the constitutionality of laws requiring one day's rest in seven has already come before the courts. In 1915 the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia held such legislation for women to be not sufficiently different in degree from eight-hour legislation in California as to make the reasoning in the latter case inapplicable. In the same year the New York Court of Appeals upheld such an enactment for the benefit of both men and women as justifiable in the interests of public health and welfare."

No Club in Chicago offers so many good things for so small a fee as the City Club. Do the friend at your elbow a neighborly act by asking him to join.

THE STORY OF THE UKRAINIANS.

Few Americans appreciate the extent of the ethnical and linguistic differences that characterize the numerous small nationalities found in central and eastern Europe. All the Slavs, for instance, look alike to us, their languages are equally unintelligible, and we have little patience with their dissensions and with their dreams of preserving their own institutions.

Under the stress of the struggle now going on in Europe many of these smaller nationalities have felt a new impulse for self-government and hope that when the war ends they may find themselves free from the yoke of those that oppress them.

Among these submerged peoples of Europe probably the least familiar to us are the Ukrainians, whose claims for recognition and justice were presented to the members of the City Club at luncheon February 13 by Mr. Miroslav Sichinsky of Cleveland. Mr. Sichinsky is chairman of the National Ukrainian Association and edits "The Workers," a weekly newspaper for his countrymen. According to him, there are at least half a million Ukrainians now living in the United States and Canada, a fact which should justify any effort that may be necessary to learn more about them.

"Ukraine," said Mr. Sichinsky, "is a country twice as large as France, at present divided between Russia, Hungary and Austria, the largest part lying in Russia along the Dnieper River and stretching east to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The Ukrainians, sometimes known as Ruthenians or Little Russians, number about 35,000,000 people. They constitute a distinctive nationality, with a language and customs quite different from the Russians and their other Slavic neighbors. They are known as Little Russians, not because they are small in stature, but because of the smallness of their territory as compared with Russia proper.

"The Ukrainians are noted for their physical strength. In temperament they are artistic, with a love for poetry and music. Most of them are illiterate, but through no fault of their own. Schools in their own language have been denied them, and no encouragement is given to their efforts to build up a national litera-

ture. They are endowed with democratic traditions, having organized a republic at the end of the seventeenth century, but they now have no representation in the Russian Parliament. While they are skilled farmers, they must labor in poverty as tenants, the greater part of the land being in the hands of the semi-feudal aristocracy of Russian and Polish origin.

"In former years the Ukrainians were far in advance of the Russians in their learning. When Peter the Great tried to make Russia a civilized country, he took his teachers largely from the Ukraine. Academies flourished in Kiev, Ostrog and other cities before Great Russia had a single high school. Now, through the compulsory introduction of a foreign language into the Ukrainian schools, illiteracy has increased until its percentage has become higher than it is even in Russia. So determined has been the Russian government to stamp out the Ukrainian language that at times in its history theatrical presentations and even translations of religious and scholarly works were forbidden in the vernacular. During the Russo-Japanese war the British Bible Society published Bibles in Ukrainian, but were unable to distribute them among the soldiers because of the opposition of the Russian government. Later the Japanese authorities accepted the Bibles for the Ukrainian prisoners they had captured, thus making accessible to a portion of the Ukrainian soldiers the Bible in their own language.

"One great trouble with Ukraine today is that it is exploited by an alien aristocracy that has no sympathy with the people. Under their oppressive rule eastern Galicia has become a land of wretched Ukrainian peasants, who keep themselves from starvation by laboring for low wages for the wealthy nobles. Throughout the whole of Ukraine the foreign minority controls the civil service and the educational system and monopolizes legislation. In Galicia, where the Ukrainians have the majority of the population, there is one Polish secondary school to every 50,000 Poles, while there is but one Ukrainian secondary school to every 700,000 Ukrainians. The

representation in the provincial legislature is equally unfair.

"The lot of the Ukrainian in Russia is even more unendurable. It is to be noted that when the Russians invaded Galicia during the course of the present war they at once prohibited the use of Ukrainian in churches and schools, suppressed Ukrainian newspapers and confiscated Ukrainian books found in libraries and in private homes.

"All this oppression has been, of course, for the deliberate purpose of keeping the people in subjection to their rulers. Education, it is believed, will foster the growth of democracy and then this subject race will lose its submissiveness. There are, however, among the Ukrainians young leaders of ability and education who are secretly organizing nationalistic societies and developing a public opinion that is increasingly demanding a recognition of their rights.

"The Ukrainians are not now asking for independence. They will be satisfied for the present if they are given autonomy within a federalized empire. This will give them the right of free speech, the use of their own language, their proper share of governmental positions, and representation in the central government.

"The present doubtful issue of the war makes the future of this people very uncertain. The tides of war have surged back and forth across their land during the past two years, devastating their homes and destroying thousands of their people. If out of all this suffering there will later come freedom from oppression and injustice, they will feel that the sacrifice will not have been too great.

"The importance of the issues bound up in the demands of this people has been strikingly stated by a recent writer in the *Contemporary Review*:

"There is scarcely a burning problem of European and Asiatic politics that would not be brought near settlement by the establishment of an autonomous Ukraine. Napoleon I. had a history of the Ukraine printed for his own use, and later Bismarck showed by his discourses that he also understood the importance of the Ukrainian problem. Whether it be the possible recurrence of rivalry between Russia and the German nation, the fear of Russia's future difficulties with Greece, Italy, and Turkey owing to the possession of the Dardanelles and a contingent strong Mediterranean policy, or whether it be the distrust

of Pan-Slavism with a powerful Russia at the head and none but weak, small states under her—the autonomy of the Ukraine would relieve all these issues. A neutral Ukraine would be a solid block of 40,000,000 people between Russia and Germany, between Russia and Roumania. It would give more confidence to the small Slav nations who wish to develop themselves under the protection, but not under the dictatorship of Russia. The Russian Government has, like all the European powers, been learning much during the last months; and there may be a real hope that Russian statesmen will endeavor to settle the problem of the Ukraine on lines recognizing the principle of nationality, which, as Mazzini declared over fifty years ago, was the sole foundation of peaceful brotherhood in the family of Europe."

"The mayor of Philadelphia has appointed by authority of the council a commission on districting and zoning the city. It consists of the directors of the departments of public works, public safety and health, the president of the Fairmount park commission, the chief of the bureau of surveys, a representative of the bureau of the comprehensive plans committee and of the following organizations: Real Estate Board, Operative Builders Association, the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects, the Philadelphia Housing Association and the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce."—*National Municipal Review*, January, 1917.

"Six bills for the extension of merit rule in Chicago, Cook County and the State of Illinois, adding more than 3,000 to the civil service employees in the state, will be pushed by the Illinois and the Chicago Civil Service Reform Associations at the session of the Illinois Legislature, which opened last week at Springfield.

"The services which would be put under merit regulations and the number of employes added to the classified list if the proposed legislation is passed are as follows:

"Sanitary District of Chicago, from 400 to 700 employes.

"Cook County, 2,000 employes, in addition to the 1,200 now under civil service.

"Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium of Chicago, 559 employes.

"Municipal courts of Chicago, 250 employes.

"State factory inspector, 30 employes.

"State house clerks and watchmen, as appropriated for by state legislature."

—*Civil Service News*, Jan. 8, 1917.

THE COAL CRISIS.

The impending coal shortage in Chicago and the reasons therefor were the subject of a discussion at a meeting at the City Club on January 24th. The speakers were Mr. George H. Cushing, editor of the *Black Diamond*, and Mr. John F. Porterfield, Superintendent of Transportation of the Illinois Central Railroad Company.

About six months ago, when the possibility of a shortage became apparent, Mr. Cushing put a number of trained observers in the field and traveled personally over very much of the territory from Chicago to the Atlantic coast, studying conditions. He said:

"I want to say in the beginning that the coal crisis is not local here. It did not spring from here and really has no business here. It is a borrowed shortage. It began in the East about eighteen months ago in September, 1915. In October, 1915, I got word from the East of the serious shortage in coal there and the very great increase in prices and rates charged for transportation. The situation in New England was worse at that time than it is in Chicago now.

"In January, 1916, I went to Boston to study the situation and found that the chief reasons for the coal shortage were:

"First—Boston had depended for a large part of its coal supply on water transportation. The coastwise boats, however, which had been carrying on this trade, were drafted into the munitions service and so left New England dependent upon the railroads for transportation.

"Second—The terminal situation in Boston I found to be very serious. I want to dwell on this a little more, because it seems to me that the Chicago situation is very largely dependent upon terminal conditions. I found that the manufacturers of cotton goods, shoes, and other wearing apparel were shipping less of their product west than had been the case for many years. They were, however, manufacturing much more extensively for the export trade than ever before, so the course of transportation was mainly from the factory to tide-water and from tide-water to Europe. There were in fact not sufficient boats to carry all the export trade of the country and the result was a serious con-

gestion of terminals. Goods which could not be immediately loaded for shipment to Europe had to be stored in cars on tracks. A car shortage was produced and the whole transportation movement slowed down, as is always the case where there is a large quantity of dead freight to move against in the terminal. The situation in New England was thus, primarily, one of the terminal conditions.

"A little later I went to New York and found there nearly identical conditions. The terminals were congested, there was a shortage of cars, transportation movements were slowed down and higher freight charges prevailed.

"On revisiting New England a little later I found factories which had formerly been operating up to 80% of their capacity were now operating in some cases by working extra shifts up to 150%. All their increased product was moved to tide-water and at the same time the number of boats for carrying this to Europe was constantly decreasing, thus aggravating the situation at the terminals.

"In addition to the effect that this situation had upon the transportation of coal, there was an increased consumption. Take the steel industry, for instance. This industry has undergone a tremendous expansion due to the munitions business. For every ton of steel manufactured it is estimated that $5\frac{1}{2}$ tons of coal are burned. Our direct exports of coal have been insignificant—about five million tons, not enough to affect our supply here seriously—but the use of coal in the manufacture of steel has meant an indirect exportation which is very considerable. The East has also very considerably increased its consumption of coal due to the increase of business resulting from the war.

"A large part of the export business of coal was previously to Canada, which, strictly speaking, of course is hardly export business. Most of this coal was shipped from points west of a north and south line through West Virginia and passing a little east of Pittsburgh. There was a shift, however. Canadian exports fell off and the larger part of our exports went to tide-water. This not only added to the terminal congestion at tide-water, but since most of this new export busi-

ness was from points east of the line described above, it threw altogether too heavy a burden upon these eastern lines, adding another complicating factor to the already complex situation.

"I am not going to say anything about labor shortage as affecting the shortage in the coal supply, for I don't believe that there was very much. In some districts, however, the shorter day and higher wages of the men cut down the production and there seemed also to be a lowering of the general efficiency of the working people. In other districts there were strikes, in some of which mines were blown up and production thus cut down. While these strikes were not widespread or serious, they did have a retarding influence on production.

"In the West the shortage of coal was psychologically due about the middle of last September. One very hot day in October five retailers called upon me and asked if there was not some means by which the newspapers could be stopped printing stories about a possible coal famine. It seemed curious to me that in the greatest coal market in the world and in hot weather we should be troubled with the prospect of a coal famine.

"There was at this time a heavy demand for coal from this region to be shipped as far east as Oswego. The East was calling upon us to make up its deficiency in the coal supply and there was an unusual demand on Michigan and Indiana. During the hot, dry weather of last summer, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were out of commission for transporting coal, so when cold weather came Memphis and New Orleans and other southern points began to call for our western coal. Then the Northwest began to get excited and called on this market. We were supplying coal to the Rocky Mountains and the northern Pacific coast, the cars passing through coal fields on the way. So with Chicago as a center, our western mines were being subject to extraordinary demands from the East, the South and the Northwest.

"The result was that we did not have enough coal to go around. We have tried since the middle of October to distribute the supply as equitably as possible among the consumers.

"We have also had the same terminal situation that has prevailed in the East,

that was first indicated by embargos on freight movement. This was said to be due to backing up cars carrying goods for shipment to Europe, for there were not enough ships to carry these goods.

"Who is to blame for this situation? Personally, I am inclined to blame no one in particular. The coal men are not prophets, they are just business men. They could not foresee the shortage or the combination of circumstances which has brought it about. Nor can the blame be placed on the railroads. The railroads are not prophets any more than the coal dealers. They could not foresee what was coming. Some are inclined to blame the householder, because he did not store coal sufficiently in advance.

"Particularly I want to point out that the coal man is not to blame. The coal man really is the most liberal person on earth. Nobody in this country has ever made a dollar running a coal mine or selling coal. The fellow who opened the mine or speculated in coal mines made the money, not the operator. Over a period of years, there has been less than 10% in profit on the investment in coal properties.

"We have a productive capacity in our Illinois mines 50% greater than any known need. We are far below our best productive capacity and yet are facing a coal shortage in Illinois today.

"What is the remedy? It has been thought that we could correct this situation by increasing the charges for demurrage and reconsignment. We coal men have nothing to say against the imposition of such charges. We would be willing to make them high enough to stop the practice of reconsignment. We would like to do this, but we haven't courage to advocate it, for it would drive the little dealers out of business. The small dealer ordinarily buys just enough coal each day to supply his demand and if the reconsignment charges were made heavy enough it would drive him out of business.

"It would be good for the operators, too, for it would force the advance ordering of coal. It would mean that production could be distributed more nearly throughout the year and they could shut down about half the mines. The mines would be able then to work 300 days a year instead of 205 as at present. As I

say, however, we haven't the courage to advocate these things, nor have we the courage to tell the consumers that they ought to provide enough room to store their coal, so that coal could be purchased in advance, but if this were done I think it would help to prevent a coal shortage of this sort from recurring."

Mr. Porterfield said:

"The responsibility for these winter shortages rests principally with the consumer, more particularly the consumer of domestic coal, coal for winter heating purposes and a number of the large manufacturing plants, which could, but do not, carry a reserve supply of coal. These consumers depend on keeping their reserve supply of coal on cars in the railroads' yards, which of course reduces the available cars for the legitimate transportation of coal. At a meeting in the Mayor's office recently, it was stated that the schools, office buildings, hospitals and a number of other buildings carried no reserve supply of coal, but depended on daily deliveries by distributors.

"With exception of the years when coal mine strikes are anticipated, the larger percent of the coal is transported during September to January inclusive. There is a good demand for coal carrying equipment during these five months, but during the balance of the year a large percent of the railroads' coal carrying equipment stands idle. The Illinois Central has large temporary yards at Centralia and Carbondale for storing empty coal cars during the seven months of light coal traffic.

"December operation of coal cars compared with that of March shows 5 additional car days per round trip, which indicates that during the time we are called on to handle the bulk of the coal traffic, we get one-third less actual transportation service out of the cars. This loss is due to the longer time held for unloading, slower movement due to unfavorable weather conditions and other transportation difficulties incident to handling this coal along with the heavy movement of grain and other winter traffic. During the six months ending with August, mines on the Illinois Central alone, with the cars available, could easily have loaded 65,000 more cars of coal, or more than we loaded during the months of November and December.

"The railroads as a rule store a substantial supply of coal, particularly at points of consumption distant from the mines, coaling plants being provided with storage bins for the unloading and storing of coal during the months of light coal traffic, in order to provide more cars for handling coal during the winter months. The objection to such storing of coal, aside from the cost of storage facilities, is the expense of extra handling and deterioration, there being very little danger of loss from spontaneous combustion. The only precaution we take when storing without protection, is to avoid mixing fine coal from the different mines.

"In conclusion I would suggest, that, in order to avoid another coal shortage, distributors make a sufficiently higher price during the winter months to make it an object to consumers to store their supply of coal for heating purposes during the summer months and to the larger users of coal to carry a reasonable stock in coal bins or yards instead of storing it in cars. Or, modern and adequate storage facilities might be provided in the different sections of the city, where cars in large numbers can be quickly dumped and returned to transportation service. The coal should be stored and handled by machinery, thereby speeding up the transportation and cheapening the present cost of handling."

The meeting being thrown open for questions, Mr. Cushing was asked to say something about the charges which had appeared in the papers that coal had been held in the yards for purposes of raising the price. In reply he called attention to the fact that the price of Illinois coal in Chicago has been from \$1.00 to \$1.50 below the price east of the Indiana line and that it would be far more profitable if dealers would sell their coal in Indiana than hold it for a raise here. "Chicago is a dangerous market," he said, "for coal speculation. Most of the dealers who do speculate are small dealers and the holding of any considerable number of cars for a raise might mean the wiping out of a man's capital if the market changed. It seems to me impossible for a speculator in this market to affect the price more than five cents a ton at the maximum."

THE DOCTRINE OF FORCE AND THE DARWINIAN THEORY.

"The philosophy of force which permeates our entire social structure is anti-social, anti-christian, anti-scientific, and anti-Darwinian," said Dr. George W. Nasmyth in his address at the City Club on the evening of February 12th. Dr. Nasmyth in his address at the City Club Massachusetts Branch of the League to Enforce Peace, has made a special study of the applications of Darwin's theory to human society in a book which was published last year by Putnam's under the title, "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory," and in his lecture he summed up some of the results of his studies in this field. According to him, not war, but world unity is a biological necessity and the logical outcome of the evolutionary process.

He said in part: "The popular conceptions in regard to Darwin's social message are all wrong. According to the Bernhardis of all nations, this war is 'a struggle for existence between great rival empires,' 'man fights because he is a fighting animal and cannot help himself,' 'human nature does not change,' 'history repeats itself,' and 'nature red in tooth and claw' is a law that runs throughout the universe, and which makes war a biological necessity.

"Our entire social philosophy is dominated by the idea that war is necessary for the progress of civilization. Without war the world would still be inhabited by men seeking a shelter in caves, and the great societies of nations would never have been formed, according to Herbert Spencer. The formation of a state is impossible without violence, that is to say without war, according to Ratzenhofer. Without war humanity would never have learned to work, according to Professor Ward, and the system of industrial production would have been impossible. Without war no great art would have been possible, according to Ruskin. Without war the virile qualities would decay; the moral fibers of the nations would rot; the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism, according to Renan, von Moltke, and Roosevelt.

"Despite the apparent plausibility of this philosophy of force it is founded upon a profound misreading of the biological analogy, upon a deep-seated mis-

understanding of the facts of human relationships, and upon a gross distortion of Darwin's own theory of social progress. In spite of its immense success, this distorted 'social Darwinism' is nevertheless completely false in theory.

"The fact is that the present war was not a biological necessity, but was brought on by a comparatively few men, members of the military caste and diplomats, and it was possible for them to do it because the people in Europe and America had maintained an obsolete system of international anarchy instead of organizing the world under a system of justice and law in accordance with the highest interests of all the nations, with reason and common sense, and with the clear teachings of social science.

"A glance at some facts of history will make clear how this doctrine of force gained new support from Darwin's theory and extended its influence into international relations. During the sixties Darwin's ideas were published in Germany. In the midst of the discussion which these theories aroused came the war of 1870, which did much to popularize the theory of 'Social Darwinism' as the arbiter of national destiny. Intoxicated by their brilliant victories, the Germans were easily converted to the adoration of group force. All the benefits which came from the unity of the German states were ascribed to the victorious war. The great expansion of economic life was also credited to the war and it was felt that the principle of natural selection could be directly observed at work in the German nation.

"Paradoxical as it may seem, this philosophy of force was popular in France even at the time of its defeat. Instead of finding force hateful and justice admirable, the French felt that it was only through force that they could regain their lost prestige and maintain themselves as a powerful people.

"The other nations of Europe were influenced by the popular interpretation of Darwin's teachings. England especially was very sympathetic toward this justification of this doctrine of force because her immense empire had been built up and maintained by military power.

"From Europe the philosophy of force spread to the rest of the world. The

Imperialists of America imported their ideas from the Imperialists of England. Even China with its ancient traditions of pacifism has felt the influence of this doctrine brought back by her students from the universities in Japan and Europe.

"The leading characteristic of international relations since 1870 has been the competition of rival empires. All the great nations, including America, have entered upon an era of imperialism that has contributed powerfully to the spread of the philosophy of force. In their justification they argued that the progress of the race demanded the subjugation of the lower races. They felt that they possessed virtues and characteristics which gave them a right to rule. Here we have 'social Darwinism' in its final consummation, transformed from its lowly beginnings of struggle in the animal world to its apotheosis in the mighty conflicts of rival empires.

"In this way has grown up a system of international anarchy based on doctrines of mutual antagonism and destructive competition. If we apply to this system a pragmatic test, it stands self-condemned by the breakdown in August, 1914, of the civilization founded in so large a measure upon this philosophy.

"The errors of the philosophy of force, as I shall call the distorted 'social Darwinism' which misrepresents Darwin's social theories, may be divided into the biological errors, the general sociological errors and the special sociological errors. Altogether there are seventeen groups of errors, of which I shall mention only a few as illustrations.

"The chief biological error is that the philosophy of force ignores entirely the existence of the physical universe. The real struggle of man, like that of every animal, is against the physical environment, and not against the members of his own species. In human society this universal struggle is called labor—economic production.

"The chief sociological error of the philosophy of force consists in ignoring the factor of mutual aid, which is much more important than struggle for beings capable of association. Man owes his whole dominant position in the world to the fact that he is a mem-

ber of society, that he co-operates with his fellow-men and practices the division of labor. But this universal phenomenon of association and mutual aid, which can be traced down to the lowest forms of animal life, is completely overlooked by the current 'social Darwinism.'

"In the true Darwinian theory the moral law, which alone makes it possible for men to live together in society, is the highest form of adaptation to the universe. The central principle of evolution is the expansion of life, and in social evolution this is obtained through justice. Justice and morality are identical in nature, but different in the methods by which they are enforced. Morality depends upon internal forces, while justice is enforced through less effective but necessary external compulsion.

"Justice is the expansion of life while injustice is the mutilation of life. This is as true in international relations as it is in relations between individuals. A great English statesman said that he could not follow the moral law because he was a trustee of his people and must at all costs look out for their welfare. This is based on the theory that moral law and self-interest are incompatible. That such a theory is not true is evidenced by all the history of the past. The nations of the world are beginning to realize that in the long run their higher interests are found in the pathway of righteousness and justice. The golden rule is not a command, but is a law that cannot be defied without bringing with it retribution.

"In order to understand the place of force in human relations, we must distinguish three kinds of physical force. They are: Physical force used for aggression—attack; physical force used to neutralize attack—defense; physical force used to prevent attack—police force.

"The first two kinds of force, attack and defense, should be distinguished as violence, while the third kind, police force, used under the direction of law and in the service of the whole community to prevent violence, should alone be called force.

"The present disastrous condition of the world is due to the fact that na-

tional armies and navies belong to the first two kinds of force, or violence. When a dispute arises, under the present system of international anarchy, each nation insists on being judge, advocate, sheriff and executioner in its own cause. The League to Enforce Peace, by compelling every nation to submit its dispute to an international court of justice or a council of investigation before going to war, will create an international police force made up of co-operating national armies and navies, to be used against any aggressor as the instrument of world public opinion, and will mark the transition from violence to police force.

"The human race is now starting

out to organize the whole world. This is the meaning and purpose of the League to Enforce Peace. It asks for a world supreme court. It looks for a real world government. The great war is based upon wrong ideas of human relationship. The great spiritual forces in the world have been chained by this false philosophy of life. These chains must be broken before the emancipation of man can take place. When this is done the road leads straight on to the goal of evolution and the highest aspirations of the human soul through the establishment of world federation under the reign of justice."

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT—THE LAST WORD?

"It may be that neither the commission form nor the city-manager type of government is the last word in municipal organization in the United States. To my mind they are of less interest as types than as an expression of a manifest and compelling need, on the one hand, and the proof of a change of public mental attitude on the other. They express the need for simplicity in municipal organization. Democracy cannot function properly through a complicated organization which it cannot visualize and cannot comprehend. Pinning our faith to the catholicon of reorganization, we early began to emerge from simplicity in municipal organization. For more than half a century we reaped the reward that might have been expected from the complications we introduced. We are now in the era of a return to simplicity. It is a sign that is full of hope, whatever may be the specific type of government in which the movement finds expression.

"I do not ignore the importance of governmental form in a democracy. But I am profoundly convinced that we have laid and are laying too great stress upon this matter of form. This or that type of government is of importance only to the extent that it lends itself to the smooth functioning of democratic control. We cannot assume that any organic form will give the people of a city a better government than they desire.

The fundamental assumption of democracy is that the people actively and positively desire the best government possible. The machinery of government is of interest and importance only in the degree that it facilitates or obstructs the realization of this desire

"I am inclined to believe that had the commission or the city-manager type of government been established a generation or so ago it would have been a dismal failure. In an atmosphere of public indifference, of inactivity, or lack of heart or of interest, it would have lent itself admirably to the machinations of professional politicians and spoilsmen. We should hesitate to give to the genius of a designer credit that is in fact due to a new motive force—in this case to an awakened, vitalized and actively operating public opinion. Unstinted laudation of the virtues of these types of government may be justified as a means for keeping public opinion upon its mettle; but is the danger not real that it may also result in convincing a busy and not too exacting people that here at last, after all the futile searching of the years, they have come upon their long-sought Eldorado—a super-government, a government so perfect in type that they can wind it up at periodical elections and, with supreme confidence in its ability to run itself, turn their attention to other things?"—*From article by Howard Lee McBain, National Municipal Review, January, 1917.*

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MID-WINTER CAMP FIRE

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If there are any who have ever entertained the notion that the City Club is purely a "highbrow" organization, whose only interest is that of "reform," they had an awakening the other night. They found that at least a hundred and twenty-five of the members were just common ordinary mortals, with enough of the wild man still left in them to appear in old clothes and enjoy a good joke, stand a goodly amount of joshing, smoke a corn-cob pipe, roll around on the floor and have a good time generally. And from what we have heard since, it did them a lot of good and made a long stride toward putting the City Club on the map as a live wire outdoor propagandist.

The occasion was the Mid-winter Camp Fire, the Club's first adventure in this particular field. With abounding optimism in the fundamental qualities of the *genus homo*, the Camp Fire Committee, regardless of artificial restraints and associations, transformed the Lounge into a picturesque vacation camp, with tents, guns, fishing tackle and the various accessories for outdoor life,* and pulled off a dinner and program that was

pronounced by those present as one of the most enjoyable occasions they have attended in many a moon.

The chief object of the occasion was to promote fellowship and acquaintance, and to afford an opportunity by song, act, word and picture to live over again those vacation days. This is the way it was done.

The men assembled at 6 o'clock, the most of them being garbed in characteristic vacation costume. Those who came in their "store" clothes were compelled, by Special Officer Batterson, acting in behalf of the Committee, to buy a big red bandanna to wear around their necks, thus adding color to the occasion.

The half hour before the call for dinner was spent in viewing the excellent and interesting exhibit of photographic enlargements and album collections of vacation scenes, "shot" by the members themselves in all corners of North America and which had been loaned for the

*The Camp Fire Committee is indebted to Messrs. VonLengerke and Antoine, sportsmen's outfitters, for their generous loan of all of the accessories here mentioned, except the tents.

occasion and installed by the Committee on the walls of the corridor and the reading room and on the reading room tables. The collections of Ellis Prentice Cole showing life among the Sioux and Blackfoot Indians and scenes in the West and Southwest, and of I. S. Rosenfels, Dr. A. J. Cramp and Rev. Ernest C. Smith showing mountain scenery, glaciers, wild flowers, etc., in the western National Parks and in Northwestern Canada and Alaska were of special interest and beauty.

And the dinner! The fellows haven't got through talking about that dinner yet. After we had filled up on roast turkey with dressing, sweet potatoes, corn bread, rice pudding with raisins, coffee and apple cider, which Chief of Commissary Dignan furnished and served "chuck wagon" style, there was nothing more in the way of eats to be desired.

Just as the boys were fishing around in their pockets for something to smoke, a series of shots in the hall brought every man to his feet with a jump. Whereupon the door opened and in burst the wildest kind of "bad man" (James Petrie) masked and armed to the teeth, with two guns belching fire, showing in word and act that he intended to shoot up the crowd. The demand for "Hands up!" met with an instantaneous and hearty response. Then appeared an Indian chief (E. P. Cole) in war paint and bonnet, buckskin suit and moccasins carrying a sack in his hands. The two lost no time in lining the men up against the wall, and in real hold-up style relieved them of their loose change, the Indian handing to each in return a corn-cob pipe and tobacco. One or two "conscientious objectors" were handled rather roughly and to add reality to the situation, Wing was made to give an exhibition of fancy(?) dancing to the flash of the guns, every time he permitted his pedal extremities to touch the floor.

Then the bugle call again resounded and the men repaired to the lounge, where,



after singing a few familiar songs led by Tom Allinson, they grouped themselves in a semi-circle on the floor facing the tents and screen and the main part of the program was begun.

This was pulled off under the guidance of Master of Ceremonies, Harold F. White. One feature was a galaxy of celebrities, a sort of "Who's What?" in the City Club, the same being a series of pictures showing members of the Club in their natural habitat, not as they have made themselves or as others think them to be, but as they really are. By way of introduction, White showed a picture of Moulton, Jensen, Perkins and Hooker sporting, nymph-like, in the surf of the Dunes.

The next picture showed another daughter of Neptune emerging out of the surf in the "barely" discernible form of one Eugene T. Lies, who, when school keeps, has the job of attending to the wants of the poor, at which time he is usually sober in body and mind. But on this Arabian night he had the job of conducting by word of mouth and the screen a "B. L. T. colyum on Club Personalities," above referred to as "Who's What?" It was in two spasms, one near the beginning, the other near the end of the program, to permit the taking of air in between. Lies is a modest "damsel" and objected to appearing before the footlights. Consequently he betook himself to the northeast corner of the gallery and from that secluded spot pronounced in sonorous tones the words of his epic, part of which are released in the following paragraphs.

Well, there was President Moulton, "off his dignity, but on his horse,"—his high horse—about to raise the deuce; no the "dues," as Lies put it. "And George Hooker on a high hill with mail bag in hand and few clothes anywhere, conducting a parcel post between the Earth and Mars." A. B. Yeomans was shown at the wheel of a Mackerel Schooner with "Contra's Band" aboard trying to steer clear of the danger zones.

Then there was another famous horseman, Wild West Jim Petrie, "trying to put a life preserver on a Mexican broncho with No. 36 spool cotton;" and Vic Yarros, "inhaling frankfurters on the beach of our well-known Lake Michigan hoping somehow to gather inspira-

tion for his famous lecture on the spiritual essence of the absoluteness of the whatness of the is."

Came next the late "Shermy" Kingsley "with three dozen minnows on an Atlantic Cable;" and old Doc Gray, "close, very close to 'natcher' on the beach, training for a place in Artemus Ward's famous wax-works;" and friend C. H. Mann "with three stuffed birds in hand about to have his picture snapped for sister way back home somewhere." Then were exposed two times three men in a boat, in, but almost out of, a boat built for only one and his wife.

Soon we saw "a porter (Fred D.) who had risen extraordinarily high in the world for a porter, w-w-way up at the end of a 100-foot mast;" and Wally C. Clarke, "with pipe in the right, fishing rod in the left and a lady in the house and what more could a man want?"

A picture of Gillett in camp in the northern woods with Monilaw's family of fifty boys "teaching the young idea how to scoot" was much enjoyed by all Rooseveltians present. Then there was E. A. Davenport "telling a stranger how he once caught, in the short space of sixty minutes, 75 ten-pound muskies in the Desplaines River (yes), near River Forest." After that the crowd was ready for anything. So they sang "The Watch on the Rhine," with somebody in the rear mumbling: "the wash on the line." After which we gazed upon the ebony face of Mistah S. G. Carney's troupe of minstrels at Agawa Bay, "de most famousest company of ex-white men dat eber did have a fish-al connection wid Georgie Hooker's Skittish Club."

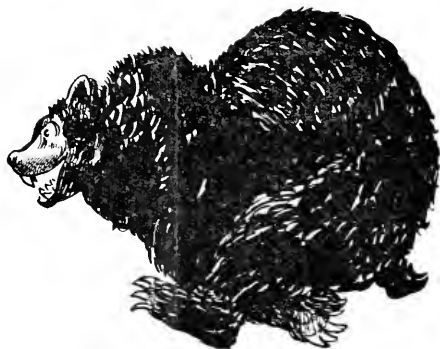
Jens Jensen, "the great outdoor fan, was discovered in the act of shifting an island around in some lake so that its position in relation to the State of Michigan would be more pleasing to the naked eye." There were lots of other exposures, but there is time for but one more. It is or was Harold White, Master of the evening's ceremonious performance—with his loving arms around a (don't tell!) Jackass on the John Muir trail.

Then Lies ran—down Plymouth Court to Twelfth Street, Twelfth to the Lake and that's the last that anybody's seen of him.

But this is getting ahead of the story. After the first five minutes, the Master of Ceremonies gave Lies the "hook" and introduced a picture of Tom Allinson, the graduated pirate, who recounted the exploits of some members of the Prairie Club tramping around the environs of Chicago. Alluring pictures were shown of the never-to-be-forgotten (by Allinson) Ah-go-way Camp six miles from the "Agony" Central Railroad in the mountains of Ontario, where tenderfeet slaughtered one billion flies and "skeeters," with the loss of much gore. There they learned the comparative merits of green cedar and pine for kindling fires, retraced lost trails, ate moose-meat under various names, published the "Bugville Banner," produced the one and only minstrel show, had glorious camp fires and a bully good time.

The scene then shifted and T. W. Arnold stepped forth to prove to the crowd that Canada has nothing on the United States as a vacation stamping ground. Wyoming was the spot chosen for his camp and as he displayed the wide expanses of sage brush inhabited by rattle-snakes and prairie dogs, the deep canons and the rugged mountains, where bears sport about by day and wolves howl by night, all agreed that the Rocky Mountain State is no place for a tenderfoot. It is rumored that when Arnold saw his first coyote, even his camera portrayed it as the largest mountain lion ever seen in those there parts. And such fishing. If he can be believed—and who would question a camp fire story—the trout jump forth from the water to meet the fisherman's hook and are even obliging enough to turn themselves in the frying pan.

The next picture thrown on the screen showed Dr. A. J. Cramp in somewhat Arctic-appearing surroundings down in the northern Indiana dunes in mid-winter. Dr. Cramp's pictures dealt with scenes in eastern Canada and the Canadian Rockies. The first view was of the little fishing village of Percé, on the Gaspé Peninsula in the extreme eastern part of the Province of Quebec. Here stands the famous "Pierced Rock" which gives the village its name. It is a block of limestone, the strata vertical, and veined with calcite. It is noted for its wonderful coloring and the hundreds of



HIKING THROUGH YELLOWSTONE

gulls and cormorants that inhabit it. From Mt. St. Anne the view looked out over the village along the shore, past the Pierced Rock to Bonaventure Island, which is separated from the mainland by a three-mile strait. Bonaventure Island is the home of one of the three known colonies of gannets. There were two or three interesting slides showing these birds by the hundreds on the ledges of the precipitous cliffs of the island. Other eastern Canadian views shown by Dr. Cramp were in the Chicoutimi district, which is near the head waters of the famous Saguenay River.

Then the stage manager threw on the screen a picture of "Garbage Collector" E. H. Bangs, at one of the Prairie Club's Lake Superior Camps. Bangs explained that every well managed camp had to have a garbage collector, and that in this one by some unlucky turn of the arrow, he was "it." Bangs was to have added word pictures of the views which he showed, but used up his time explaining why Tom Allinson had to live in a hammock during his first week's stay in camp. It seems that Tom had a boil. It was a painful boil and active—so much so that Tom's camp mates, after a hasty consultation, decided that he was "sorely" in need of professional services. So the native who came nearest to belonging to a learned profession, i. e., the Light House Keeper, was called. Herewith is Bang's account of what followed:

"As the Light House Keeper had been brought up under a bureaucracy—born

under a bureau you might almost say—he could only treat standard diseases suitable to Light House Keepers; and the book furnished by the paternal government did not mention Boils, or anything else under B, not even Bunions, Backache or Brainstorm. Nor did the Keeper wish to go beyond A, as he was strong for amputation, because during the previous winter he had successfully amputated the hind leg of a wolf injured in a trap. His technique was to place a large beer case over the wolf, sit on the case, induce the wolf to stick its game leg through a hole, and then to operate without the use of anaesthetics, antiseptics or a plumber's license. He was disappointed to learn that Allinson might not go under a beer case and that he was ticklish and might not stick his leg out of the hole. But as it developed that one of the Mine Doctors was to be at the Harbor that day, Allinson's leg was finally sent across the Bay and received professional attention, the amateurs returning to their regular duties."

Francis E. Manierre then delighted the crowd with his Alaskan experiences. By way of apology for having gone to such distant parts he said that having heard of the long nights in Alaska, he went up there to make up lost sleep. To his chagrin he arrived there at the wrong season of the year to accomplish his purpose and so he whiled away his time by taking pictures of that fascinating country. He flashed on the screen beautifully colored slides showing ice-

bergs that threatened to engulf their ship, glaciers with their pitfalls for the unwary traveller, mining camps in the midst of the gold fields and precipitous mountains that looked bleak and cold even in midsummer.

With a magic wave of his wand the scene changed and the Island of Newfoundland was seen emerging out of the fogs of the Atlantic. A closer look revealed some caribou, trained for the purpose, posing before his camera. To make the scene more realistic he tipped them off to make a wild dash for liberty as soon as his camera was properly focused. But no matter how it was done Manierre and his caribou will not soon be forgotten by the camp fire crowd.

The next picture on the screen was that of a doughty Maine guide staggering under a load of fir boughs to be used for beds. The guide was said to be Frank E. Wing, who showed pictures taken on a trip up the West Branch of the Penobscot River into the Sourdna-hunk Lake region around Mt. Katahdin. Wing says that there are more trout to the square yard in the twenty-five or more small lakes, ponds and streams in the Sourdna-hunk region around Mt. Katahdin than in any area of equal size

megardis, Aboljackmegantic, Pockwock-amus and several others. His pictures of Ripogenus Gorge, Falls on Sourdna-hunk stream, Mts. Doubletop, "O. J. I.," and Katahdin showed that all of the rough scenery is not west of the City Club.

J. S. Wright, showed a series of pictures taken by Dr. J. P. Sprague on a recent trip in Northern Ontario, in which a sleeping bull moose was shot (with the camera) at close range. He also recounted, by the use of moving picture films, a journey by canoe through the northern Wisconsin lake region, and also showed many activities, aquatic and otherwise, of a boys' camp. The technique of canoe carrying, lighting fires without matches by the use of a spindle, a stick of wood, a shoe thong, and a flat board was most interesting as was also the exhibition of unpacking, making and breaking camp, getting supper and making a portage.

During the intermission the Indian gave the Sioux war dance, accompanied by L. W. Spring on the tom-tom, and later led the guests in the "Friendly Dance" of the Blackfeet. This dance consisted in forming the men in two concentric circles, with arms about each others waists, and circling slowly to the music of tom-tom and voices. Then they paired off and danced with hands on each other's shoulders, the outcome of this dance being to seal the friendship of each with his partner for life.

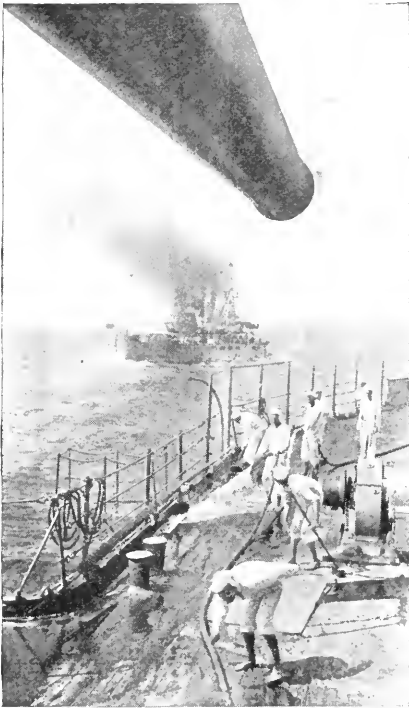
At the sound of the bugle the pow-wow was again assembled and the Master of Ceremonies called upon S. Bowles King, who showed pictures of a unique vacation "enjoyed" by himself and six fellow members of the Club on a training cruise with the U. S. Navy last summer. These adventurous patriots boarded the battleship Louisiana and during the intervals when they were not sea-sick scrubbed decks, made remarkable records at target practice, and developed appetities that nearly swamped the culinary department. The pictures showed these volunteers drilling at Fort Mon-

Note: The cartoons used in illustrating this account of the camp fire are by Ellis Prentice Cole and Frank Shrider.



TOSSING PETRIE IN THE BLANKET

on the American Continent. It sounded all right, coming from a "Maine-iac," especially after hearing the names of the falls and rapids Wing had to negotiate before getting there, viz., Ambijijis, Passamagamoc, Debsconeag, Aboljack-



CITY CLUB MEMBERS SCRUBBING THE DECKS
OF THE U. S. S. LOUISIANA.

roe, having target practice in Tangier Sound, learning how to ward off the attacks of submarines, and going through the varied experiences of new recruits on a man-of-war.

Kumler gained such fame in singing "Louisiana Lou" that he was asked to render a solo at Sunday morning service. Hale was marooned on lookout for three watches and went half shaved for a day because "General Quarters" sounded while he was using the breech of a seventeen-inch gun for a mirror. Godolphin's attempt to convince a sailor that it was wrong to use profanity failed to clear the atmosphere. All breathed easier when Bell's turn at steering was safely past. King made three hits out of four shots with the big guns and bought nothing stronger than shaving mirrors at the canteen.

Then Ellis Prentice Cole, without his war bonnet, told of an interesting vacation trip to Custer Battlefield, and gave the Indians' story of the fight. While telling the story, he drew in colors a chalk picture of Two Moons, the Cheyenne chieftain who led his warriors in this memorable battle.

Next, a silhouette of a big northern pike dangling W. T. Cross by a string was thrown on the screen and Cross was given five minutes to give an account of himself in this predicament. Cross, who is not usually given to "seeing things," said that one day he was meditating on top of one of the sand dunes over the possibility of utilizing the energy developed by the flapping of the finny tribe in Lake Michigan to furnish power to drive the machinery of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, when the head and shoulders of a big fish, mouth gaping wide, emerged from the lake and then disappeared in the direction of the Mackinaw Straits. Thinking that he must catch that fish, Cross gave a jump (he really did, for he showed the picture of himself jumping), and landed way up on the Seine River in Northern Ontario. He admitted that it was a long jump, but as luck would have it, he fell upon George Hooker and Frank Wing, who accompanied him on a 150-mile canoe trip in search of the fish. Cross got somewhat confused when he tried to relate whether he got the fish or the fish got him, but at any rate, he told an interesting story of his subsequent experiences with Hooker and Wing.

They started at Baril Lake. The first few hours they paddled along the old Dawson Route. Everywhere there were signs of prospecting and of mining projects that did not pan out.

A short carry north from Baril Lake put them into Hudson Bay waters, and the net of lakes that feeds the lively little Seine. It was good season for northern pike—but Hooker and Wing didn't turn out to be pikers, except at meal time. The party sighted forty moose, that had no political affiliation. Hooker shot several from the canoe, with his camera. On the thirteenth of August, quite unintentionally, two of the three canoes were allowed to upset in the rapids. What apparel and equipment were fished out of the river were spread out in a spot in the sun. All of the men were "wets" for a while. One of Cross's pictures showed Wing reduced to his lowest terms—drying out.

No one outside the party was seen for two weeks and a half. The first party met were Indians—not the City



A MID-SUMMER CAMP FIRE. WING AS CAMP COOK IN THE WILDS OF ONTARIO

Hall kind. They recognized Wing at once, or thought they did. The last day out witnessed the departure of the ultimate ration of raisins and flour. That night the party slept comfortably in a "settlement" and heard the wolves howl. We hope they got back to civilization safely. Cross is said to be still struggling with his original problem in dynamics.

To cap the climax of the evening, the Master of Ceremonies himself, by a previous arrangement with Mr. Lies, was fittingly introduced as the hero of the John Muir Trail. The crowd leaned forward expectantly as White broke the news that they were about to look upon no ordinary pictures, but upon an up-to-date portrayal of a trip *de luxe* along the most picturesque trail in California. It was true. Even the most skeptical opened their mouths in admiration as beautifully colored stereopticon slides gave way to real first run movies depicting Mr. White astride a broncho leading a long line of pack horses laden with mattresses, ice cream freezers and

other luxuries of modern life. And we must not forget the Chinese cook who kneaded bread on a mule's back and every day spread out a feed fit for a king.

Seven men made up this party not including the guides and numerous attendants, taken along to guard against loneliness and over-exertion. It was a grand sight to watch this long caravan single file wind its way along steep cliffs, negotiate difficult mountain passes, ford dangerous torrents, and fade out of sight in dark canons. And when they stopped for night in some gorgeous valley and gathered about the camp fire for their evening meal, one could almost get a whiff of the venison steak as it disappeared down their eager throats. It is no wonder that White waxed eloquent in telling about this famous trip. We can easily understand why the Muse got the better of him as he gazed at the stars through the giant trees in Sequoia National Park and his soul burst forth in the following effusion:

THE JOHN MUIR TRAIL

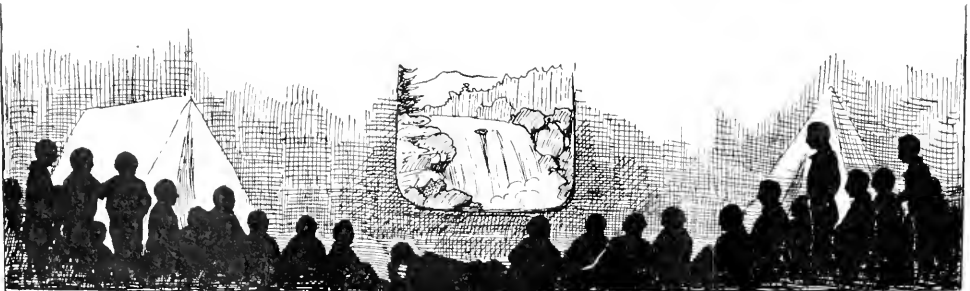
We've traveled far together since we camped at Soda Springs,
We've had a heap o'weather and we've seen a heap a'things,
And we've just about concluded that all other routes look pale
When contrasted with the grandeur of the John Muir Trail.

We've camped at Thousand Island Lake in sight of winter snows;
We've camped in Blaney Meadows where the manzanita grows;
We've spent a night at Horse Corral another on Fish Creek,
And when we struck Tehipite we'd like to stayed a week.
We've slept beneath the Fir trees, the Cedar and the Pine,
With beds of purple Larkspur and of scarlet Columbine;
But whether on the mountain or in the shadowed vale,
We've slept like tired school boys on the John Muir Trail.

We left the trail a day or two and then found "Hell for Sure,"
Till some of us were wishing we'd accompanied McClure.
We've forded every sort of stream and caught a lot of fish,
And when it comes to eatin' we've sampled every dish
That anybody ever thought a'settin' 'fore a king,
For in the Culinary Art there's only one Ty Sing;
With venison and frogs legs and most everything but quail,
We found the grub was perfect on the John Muir Trail.

McCormick with his dressing gown and Grimwood with his gun
Have proved delightful comrades and afforded lots o'fun;
And Curtis with his camera and Davis with his rod,
And Yard with ever present spurs a clumpin on the sod,
And Mather with his trusty steed a'brayin' all the while,
And me, the Eastern tenderfoot, a'tryin' not to smile;
It aint a bit surprisin' that the trip did not grow stale,
For never finer fellows took the John Muir Trail.

So here's to Old John Muir, may the years increase his fame,
May we meet some other summer on the trail that bears his name;
They both have much in common. Both are rugged and are high,
And even in the Valleys they keep lookin' toward the sky.
And here's to Stephen Mather whom everyone adores,
And here's to all our fellowmen who love the out o'doors;
It's here we'll be a'comin' when we seek the Holy Grail,
For Earth's damned nigh to Heaven on the John Muir Trail.



WATCHING THE PICTURES

CLUB NOTES

Much credit is due Mr. Frank E. Wing, the efficient chairman of the Mid-Winter Camp Fire Committee, for his assistance in editing the account of the Camp Fire celebration that appears in this issue. Those who were present on that occasion will appreciate his skill in reproducing the spirit of that delightful evening. Many have expressed the hope that the Mid-Winter Camp Fire will become an annual feature of our club life.

John Siman, who was a member of the City Club since 1904, died February 28th. Mr. Siman was completing his first term as City Clerk and had just been renominated for this office at the primaries held the day before his death. He was active in the Progressive movement and was a real progressive in spirit. For years he had been an enthusiastic fighter on the side of honest politics and was always in sympathy with a genuine program of social reform. Born of Bohemian parentage, he was a prominent member of the Bohemian community in Chicago and was head of their national organization in this country.

The City Club Committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges recently sounded a note of warning in regard to turning over city streets for railroad or switch-track purposes. It took the shape of a letter sent on March 5th to the City Council Committee on Local Industries, which was then considering an ordinance permitting the laying of a switching track on Carroll Avenue for six blocks from Sangamon to Elizabeth Streets. The City Club Committee found upon investigating this matter that Carroll Avenue, which was characterized as a "stub street" by those who desire this switch track, would be in truth a valuable thoroughfare over two miles long were it not for the fact that its easterly end, from Sangamon to Halsted Streets, is already occupied by the C. M. & St. P. Railway.

Although the Committee could not get definite information at the time, it found that there was some question as to whether the city had as yet actually vacated the portion now occupied by the

railroad. The proposed switch track would occupy the south half of the street for an additional six blocks, the sidewalk space being taken up by private industry sidings, which could be continuously occupied by freight cars, and the south side of the roadway being taken up by the switching track which would be in use whenever cars were received or shipped away.

The usual conflict of interest is involved between the community as a whole and the real estate owners on the street, who require direct railroad connections in order to make their holdings valuable for industrial purposes. The City Club committee recommended that the matter receive full consideration from every viewpoint and that the grant be not allowed without the previous approval of the Chicago Plan Commission and the Railways Terminal Commission.

At a joint meeting March 7th, of the City Club Committees on Government, State Constitution, Public Expenditures, Streets, Alleys and Bridges, Civil Service, Taxation, Parks and Playgrounds, City Planning, Political Nominations and Elections and Public Utilities, a resolution was adopted approving the recommendations for unification of local governments in Chicago and for the short ballot, contained in the recent report of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, entitled "Unification of Local Governments in Chicago," without commitment, however, to all the detailed features of the plan outlined in that report.

In order that progress might be made in carrying out the proposed plan, the committees urged the General Assembly of Illinois to take action in line with the immediate recommendations of the Bureau report as follows:

1. Passage of the resolution for a Constitutional Convention, to the end that the way may be prepared for ultimate unification of local governments in Chicago, in such manner as may be shown to be desirable.

2. Passage for submission to the people on a referendum vote of a bill providing a plan of government for Chicago as recommended in the Bureau report, under which the mayor would be

elected by the city council for an indeterminate term; the council itself to consist of thirty-five aldermen; one from a ward, serving for four-year terms, subject to recall; aldermen to be elected on non-partisan lines; the city treasurer and city clerk, now elective, to be made appointive; the city clerk and the comptroller to be named by the council, all other department heads, including the city treasurer, to be named by the mayor.

The following persons have joined the Club since February 19, 1917:

HERMAN M. ADLER, Physician.
 HENRY D. AGNEW, Western Electric Company, Employment Manager.
 DWIGHT L. AKERS, Executive Secy., Illinois Committee on Social Legislation.
 RICHARD S. AUSTIN, M. D., Pathologist, Children's Memorial Hospital.
 LLOYD C. AYRES, Farmer.
 CHARLES J. BOYD, General Superintendent, Illinois Free Employment Offices.
 WILLIAM C. BROWN, Salesman, Whitman & Barnes Mfg. Co. (Machinists' Supplies).
 JOHN W. DIETZ, Western Electric Co., Mgr. Educational Dept.
 H. C. DOVENMUEHLE, H. F. C. Dovenmuehle & Son (Shoes).
 HENRY L. FERNBACH, Agent, New York Life Insurance Company.
 LEONARD O. HAGERUP, Architect, H. L. Stevens & Co.
 SAMUEL HEIFETZ, Branch Mgr., Mutual Life Insurance Company.
 H. H. KENNEDY, Lawyer, Moses, Rosenthal & Kennedy.
 E. N. LAYFIELD, Civil Engineer, Secretary Western Society of Engineers.
 M. C. LECKNER, Advertising Representative, Curtis Publishing Company.
 ARTHUR A. LOEB, Agent, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company.
 A. F. MADLENER, Investments.
 FELIX A. NORDEN, Mgr. Sternberger & Co. (Garment Manufacturers).
 THOMAS W. OSBORN, Salesman, Davis, Rutter & Co. (Coal Dealers).
 NORRIS W. OWENS, Secy. to Vice-President American Radiator Company.
 CHESTER E. PARKS, Supt. Farm Dept., Liverpool, London & Globe Ins. Co.
 H. P. POPE, George G. Pope & Co. (Coal).
 O. ALLEN POSTLEWAIT, Undertaker and Funeral Director.
 HAROLD E. POTTER, Salesman, Spencer, Trask & Co. (Bankers).
 HUBERT D. SAMUEL, Mgr. Master Builders' Company.
 M. D. SIMONDS, O. C. Simonds & Co. (Landscape Gardeners).
 ELLIOTT D. SMITH, Lawyer, Rosenthal & Hamill.
 E. F. SMITH, Manager Car Sales, E. F. Daniels & Co. (Coal).
 FRANK W. SWETT, Lawyer.

As a sequel of the Club's competition in 1915 for Neighborhood Center Plans a Conference on Play and Education was formed of about 30 interested persons to study closely the needs for successful community center development. After many meetings the conference presented to the Board of Education a series of carefully considered recommendations, the first of which was that the Board should appoint an "especially qualified" supervisor to develop neighborhood centers in the public schools (City Club Bulletin November 23, 1915). Early in February last, however, the School Management Committee recommended to the Board that Mr. Dudley G. Hays, who had been nominated by the superintendent, but who was practically without experience in community center activity, be appointed as supervisor of community centers, vocational education and school lunches.

The Conference took this matter under consideration and promptly sent to the Board a communication urging that there be a separate supervisor for community centers, and one selected by a merit test, open to all applicants and advertised in advance, "such test to take account of previous executive experience in this line of work, as well as acquaintance with the literature and development of community centers throughout the country." Mr. Allan Hoben, chairman of the Conference, Mr. Thomas W. Allinson, Secretary, and the 20 others who joined in the communication, pointed out that, although \$100,000 was being appropriated for community center work for 1917—twice the amount last year—no publicity had been given to the fact that the new position of supervisor was to be filled, and that several highly qualified persons of national reputation who had previously made inquiries on the subject had failed to receive "encouragement or consideration from the superintendent." The Board of Education, however, confirmed the nomination.

Many members of the Club, who, as individuals, joined in the communication, expressed deep dissatisfaction and regret at this result.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY CENTERS IN AMERICA

The Community Center movement has developed rapidly during the past few years until now it not only maintains a national organization, but has its own training school for Community Center workers. The need and purpose of this movement were set forth to members of the City Club at luncheon December 9th by John Collier, Director of the New York Training School for Community Workers. According to him a community center is not primarily a building or a set of activities, but rather an organizing center for the life of a neighborhood or a community. One of the great problems it faces is this: How can the mass of the people be so organized that they can co-operate with the government in its administrative functions and make use of the expert services it offers to the public? Mr. Collier said in part:

"What the Community Center movement stands for can best be understood through a couple of concrete cases.

"In New York on the lower East Side is a family whose human inventory is as follows: A father and mother and eight boys. Mentally not a sub-normal family; gifted musically, and with three members technically trained to play instruments; aggregate family earnings perhaps \$900 a year.

"The oldest boy, eighteen years old, has had the following contacts with purposeful community enterprises: District nurse, school census, public school, truant officer, truant court, police, children's court, probation officer, juvenile protectory, parole officer representing the protectory, a commercial employment bureau, a settlement employment bureau, the public employment bureau. This boy drives a grocery wagon and works about half the time.

"The next boy in order is now on probation; in addition he is being visited by a truant officer as is his next younger brother also. The fourth youngest child is receiving attention from a visiting teacher, who attends to problematical cases in the day school. He, according to the father, is incorrigible.

"The oldest boy plays a flute—he played in the orchestra of the protectory where he was confined. Music has disappeared from this family because they

live in very small quarters, and as the babies came along each year music grew to be a nuisance. You will appreciate that this family is 'down' in its own esteem, and there may be a few neighbors who look scornfully on the many family failures.

"The truant officer and attendance officer who are working on the members of this family have not consulted about the case, nor were they apprised until recently that several correctional agencies were making visits to the same home and the same child.

"Altogether some twenty arms of government and social service have touched this family, and at the end of the process the family feels perhaps somewhat persecuted, but on the whole resigned. The family has never been invited to co-operate in the rehabilitation of its individual members or of its family status.

"Three doors from where these people live is a community center. A great deal is made of music in this center, but the family never heard of the center and the center never heard of the family. None of the correctional agencies have suggested to the family that its musical talents ought to be capitalized nor have the correctional officers acquainted themselves with the fact of musical talent in this group of human beings.

"My second case belongs to the health field. Two blocks from the maternity hospital, where 15 per cent of Manhattan's babies are born, a woman recently died in childbirth through inattention. This district is perhaps more rich in medical facilities than any equal area of America. Several organizations of nurses operate through it, the social service areas of hospitals overlap, there is a legend among settlement workers that half the people are pauperized through free medicine. This is only a legend, for the number of commercial medical enterprises is much greater in this district than in most New York districts, and the number of private practitioners is no less. Incidentally the morbidity keeps pace fairly with the average in New York.

"In this district, the plain people thread their way among medical insti-

tutions and health agencies, to which they are strangers unless an accident or violent illness or a chance tuberculosis exhibit brings about a contact between the human material and the scientific resources of the Gramercy neighborhood.

"Now I will generalize. It is a truism that city government in its humane ministrations has become over-centralized. Even Germany realized this and prior to the great war had undertaken a reconstruction of her municipal activities on a small district basis. European cases could be mentioned in plenty, and the realization of need for a new human technique is dawning here and there throughout America, but in general our governmental efficiency continues to be modeled on the efficiency of big business.

"The fundamental principle which is violated by such an organization of government, is the principle that government is making men while business is making things. Extreme specialization is the key to efficiency in those operations which deal with inert matter; but if this efficiency be translated into the dealings of government with human beings we find administrative order amid human chaos, and the fruits of our effort are likely to be Dead Sea fruits. Inert matter does not need to be self-active, to remember, or anticipate, or to co-operate with the machinery which is cutting or pounding it into form. Men are remembering and hoping creatures and their self-activity makes them if they are made at all.

"Let us be clear what we mean by the humane ministrations of government. First there are those activities of government directed immediately at the education or reconstruction of bodies or minds, and they include health, corrections, charities, and police, as well as public schools. Second there are those enterprises of government which depend for their effective carrying out on the willing co-operation of the plain people. Tenement control is a case in point, sanitary control, the exercise of police regulation generally and the development of labor exchanges.

"These activities cannot really be made effective through the central bureau method. Such a method means specialized and fugitive contacts between government and the plain people.

The gaps between pieces of work are enormous, the over-lappings are costly, but above all the discontinuity of personal experience in the life of the man who is being molded by government, is such as to defeat the very object of all the endeavor. In a complicated administrative system operated on the central bureau plan, the individual is acted upon by multitudinous arms of government and can react to his own satisfaction on none of them. He is therefore either confused or indifferent, or pessimistic, or he develops an unconscious resistance to the whole process of being improved. Thus efficient government becomes unpopular government, and really, in many of its workings out, it deserves all the scorn which the low-brow visits upon it.

"That this is not a theoretical proposition can be seen by anyone who will acquaint himself with the results of a single experiment—the experimental Health District Number 1 in New York, or with a truly socialized public school, the Francis Scott Key School at Locust Point, Baltimore. Here are two cases where through a districting of the work of government, many departments have obtained multiplied results and the whole enterprise of government has enlisted the affections and the specific co-operation of the plain people.

"Now for the community center. The community center began as a place for recreation in some instances and a place for debating in other instances. It will continue to develop on these lines. But throughout America, the community center movement now consciously stands at the threshold of the truly critical undertaking, through which the people will act together co-operatively, using the instruments of science, of government, and expertness, functioning administratively with the government, and not merely voting against somebody at the yearly election. The community center represents the organized common people who are rising up to meet the co-ordinated expert services which will be offered to communities through neighborhood *replicas* of the general governmental enterprise. When these two principles—that of the effectiveness of lay co-operation and the local districting of expert effort—become effectively united, then will begin the new day in American politics."

TRUE REPRESENTATION FOR A CITY COUNCIL

The faults in the Chicago system of electing its city officials were pointed out by Mr. Clarence G. Hoag in his address at the luncheon of the City Club on Friday, February 9th. Mr. Hoag, who is the General Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, is an advocate of the Hare System of proportional representation, which has already been adopted with some modifications in many countries including Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark and parts of Germany. Our present method of securing representatives to carry on our government was characterized as a "pig-in-a-poke" system, by which a minority of the voters may elect a majority of the representatives or even all of them, as has actually happened in a number of instances. Mr. Hoag said in part:

"I am glad to learn that your Bureau of Efficiency is recommending for Chicago a simplified and unified plan of government. As I understand it, the proposal of the Bureau is to have the chief executive of the city, who will still retain the title of mayor, selected on a strictly professional basis by the City Council, to serve under the supervision of the Council indefinitely so long as his work is satisfactory.

"That this plan of government makes for efficiency has been proved in connection with the school system in many parts of the country. Our school superintendents are selected and kept in office on a professional basis by our School Boards, and in many parts of the country the School Board itself is elected at the polls. The same lesson is taught also by the experience of most of the cities which have adopted the so-called Manager Plan of government. Nearly everywhere that plan has been found to conduce to efficiency of administration.

"But the method of electing the Council which is proposed by your Bureau does not seem to me the best for the purpose. The system proposed is the election of a council of thirty-five by wards, one for each ward. I grant that this has certain obvious advantages, from the point of view of democracy, over the method of electing the commission or council that is employed in most cities

that have the Manager plan. That method, of course, is the election of the commission at large by the 'block vote,' that is, under the provision that each voter has as many votes as there are members of the commission to be elected. Such a method nearly always results in the election of the entire commission by one group of voters, the largest one, no other group in the city getting any representation at all. Not only is this gravely unjust to the unrepresented voters, but it means constant fault-finding and obstruction on their part. This is proved by the experience of Dayton. Though the administration there is extremely efficient and excellent, it cannot secure the co-operation of the considerable groups of voters who have no representation on the commission. They remain disaffected, and they do nothing but find fault and obstruct. It is such considerations as these, indeed, that have led the Manager of Dayton himself, Mr. Henry M. Waite, and other leaders in the city to declare themselves in favor of the enlargement of the commission and its election by the proportional system. Let me quote one of these declarations, that of Mr. Lent D. Upson, until recently director of the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research, now director of the Detroit Bureau:

"The experience of a year and a half (this was written in Dayton in the summer of 1915) has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. Our administration is honest, highly efficient, and has exceeded my most enthusiastic expectations so far as results are concerned. I feel, however, that *its work would be strengthened if every element had a voice in the policy-making body*, and were compelled to go on record regarding the very matters which they are now criticising. . . . I feel confident that the greatest success of our present type of government (the Manager Plan) will come under some system of proportional representation."

"Now I grant, as I have said, that the ward plan proposed for the Council of Chicago has some advantages over the

'block vote' system used in Dayton, but there is a third method that is better than either.

"This is proportional representation, which has already been adopted in many foreign countries. Just before the war it was adopted for the Senate and part of the House to be set up in Ireland; and indeed Lord Bryce and others advocated its extension to the remaining seats of the Irish House and the House of Lords agreed to an amendment to that effect. In 1915 it was adopted by popular vote in Ashtabula, Ohio. It has been used for a number of years in South Africa and Tasmania. In December last the voters of Calgary, Alberta, accepted it by a majority of more than two to one. And finally—and this is a piece of real news, as it has apparently not yet appeared in our newspapers—a cablegram* which I recently received from England informs me that it has been accepted by the official Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, appointed in the autumn by the Asquith Government, for a considerable part of the House of Commons of Great Britain.

"What, then, is the proportional system of electing a representative body? I will describe it as adopted in British dominions and in Ashtabula, since the particular system adopted in those places, the Hare system, is the best of all.

"The Hare system of proportional representation differs from the ward system in one respect only, but it is a fundamental respect. If we were electing a council of thirty-five under the ward system, we should mark off the city, according to thirty-fifths of the population, by ward lines on the city map. Our idea would be that each thirty-fifth of the people has a right to a thirty-fifth of the council. That is good arithmetic. But we have chosen the *wrong kind of thirty-fifth*. The thirty-fifth to which we are assigning a member of the Council is a thirty-fifth *who happen to sleep inside of an arbitrary and imaginary line on the map*; but the thirty-fifth of the people to which we ought to assign a member is a thirty-fifth *who want the same candidate to represent them*. The Hare system was devised to give a member of the representative body to this right kind of constituency.

"But how is the voting to be carried out? The members would be elected at large or in two or three large districts electing several members each. Let us suppose it to be at large. Nominations could be made by petition, if that method is considered satisfactory, for primaries are entirely unnecessary. The voter would have but one vote—the same number, by the way, that he has under the ward system. Of course, if all the voters of the city are to have but thirty-five representatives, no voter should take part in the election of more than one.

"The candidates' names are put on the ballots in a single list. The voter is asked to vote by putting the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate he likes best, the figure 2 opposite that of the candidate he likes second best, the figure 3 opposite his third choice, etc., expressing thus as many choices as he pleases, but no more than he pleases. With ballots marked thus it is not difficult for the electoral officials at the central electoral bureau to sort the ballots into the thirty-five groups representing the thirty-five groups of voters who under the circumstances wish to support the same candidates.

"Consider now the political effects of this Hare system of electing a council for Chicago.

"It eliminates primaries. I hear that in your last election the primaries cost the city about \$13 per voter who came out for them.

"It is easy for the voter—far easier, indeed, than our present system. Voting is hard now for anybody except a professional politician, because we have to consider not only whom we want most in the Council, but what are the relative chances of election of the several candidates who have been nominated. And perhaps the man we want most is not in our ward at all and therefore cannot receive our vote. Perhaps the man we like next best is not nominated by any party. Perhaps our third choice, though nominated by a minor party, has no chance of being elected. What is left to us is to weigh the advantages of voting for one or the other of two men, neither of whom suits us at all. Sometimes we are more fortunate, of course, but it is by no means unusual now for an intelligent and public-

spirited man to find it very difficult to *make his will effective* by putting a cross into any square on the ballot.

"It increases the interest of the voter, for it gives him an opportunity not only of making a cross on a piece of paper, but of *taking part in the election of a candidate he really wants*.

"It discourages corruption. Under the ward system a member can be elected by a mere majority or plurality vote in the district. All that is necessary to win a ward and one seat in the council, therefore, is to turn the scale in a ward; and frequently all that is necessary is really only to turn the scale in the primary election of the party that is strongest in the ward. Under the proportional system the case is altogether different: under it the corruptionist is discouraged at the outset, for to elect even one member requires polling enough votes to deserve a member, that is, about as many as *all* the votes in one of the wards under the ward system. Where a whole wardful or quota of votes has to be *used up* in electing each member of the council, corruption is expensive and discouraging."

"It reduces the incentives to 'pork barrel' legislation. Under the ward system each councilman is dependent for re-election on the voters of his ward, and they are not united on anything except the prosperity of the ward. Under the proportional system each councilman is dependent for re-election on about the same number of voters, but they are scattered throughout the city and were united not in locality, but in wanting him as their representative. Under the old system it pays a councilman altogether too well to vote for measures that favor his ward at the expense of the larger community. Under the proportional system it pays a councilman best to be true to those who supported him throughout the city, which will usually mean to be true to himself and to the interests and opinions he really stands for.

"It fosters good feeling and co-operation among all interests and sections of opinion. It is those who are not represented in a government who misunderstand and obstruct it. And if 'taxation without representation is tyranny,' those who misunderstand and obstruct for this reason are not altogether in the wrong.

"If these are the political consequences of the Hare system of proportional representation, is it not the system you want here in Chicago? A council elected in such a way would be fit, it seems to me, to serve as a basis for the City Manager Plan type of government, for a council elected thus could be trusted to select as manager a professional administrator fit for the position, to oversee the work of such an official, and to keep him in office or replace him according to its judgment.

"One final word: If you are doubtful as to whether the methods employed for the completion of the Hare count at the central bureau are dependable—such that manipulation or fraud of any kind is out of the question—I suggest that several of you form yourselves into an unofficial voluntary committee to study this system more thoroughly. Suffice it to say, on this occasion, that the procedure in respect to the count is so dependable and satisfactory that no criticism of the count was offered by any candidate after the Ashtabula election or has ever been offered, so far as I know, after a Hare election anywhere. Moreover, if necessary, the system can be modified so that there is no transferring of ballots at all. The committee suggested can inquire into that also.

"I hope that the plan of government suggested by your Bureau of Efficiency will be modified to provide for the election of the Council by the Hare system. The plan will then be the one indicated as best by the experience of many foreign countries and by the opinion of the leading municipal experts in this country."



POLITICAL PREPAREDNESS THROUGH THE SHORT BALLOT

"The ballot in Chicago is without doubt the worst that has been devised by the hand of man," said Mr. H. S. Gilbertson of New York in his address before the City Club at luncheon Saturday, February 17th. Mr. Gilbertson, who is executive secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization, stated the advantages of the short ballot and showed how its adoption would aid in bringing about greater administrative efficiency in our government. Mr. Edwin H. Cassels, President of the Illinois Short Ballot Association, presided at the meeting and gave a brief outline of the status of the movement in this state. Mr. Gilbertson said in part:

"It is a remarkable, but in no way unusual thing, that in all the discussion that is going on about preparedness—military, industrial, commercial—scarcely a word has been said about the kind of preparedness that underlies any and every policy which our governments shall undertake, namely, *political* preparedness.

"Whether or not America is drawn into the war, this nation will be compelled within the next two or three years, in view of altered world conditions, to take a new perspective of resources, opportunities, responsibilities, and instrumentalities. In the period immediately following the war the institution of self-government will again come into competition with peoples whom necessity and discipline have made keen, resourceful and determined. There will surely follow a contest, in one form or another, in certain fields of human endeavor 'to test whether this nation, or any nation so constituted, can long endure'—against the highly equipped nations of Europe.

"Now I conceive that the strain upon democracy in this new period of our national life will bear down very appreciably at two distinct points. In the first place it will reveal to us the failure of our system of government in getting a registration of the people's will through the electoral machinery. That is to say, the weakness of government on the side of public policy. In the second place, we shall come to know that democracy

insists not merely in the people being able to formulate their will, but in having the right kind of instruments with which to translate their will into deeds of government.

"The people, for example, may go on record for regulation to secure the purity of food, but unless agents for the enforcement of pure food laws are provided for, unless these are under the single individual control of the people, and unless they are equipped with the technical paraphernalia of food inspection there is really a fundamental breakdown in democracy—the commonwealth is not getting what it pays for and what it boasts about on the Fourth of July.

"Let me repeat: our democracy is weak first in its expression and second in enforcement of its will when once expressed.

"Now as to the remedy for these conditions. For the obtaining of a better expression of the people's will I can conceive of no other course to pursue than this: to give the people every facility—so far as organization of government and procedure in government can secure it—to focus their attention on the really vital issues that affect welfare, the real *politics*, if you please, of a people like ourselves. The people must be encouraged to think big thoughts and to delegate to competent agents the little matters that really are only incidental and which will take care of themselves if the organization of government is right.

"Contrast this standard of popular control with the present situation of the citizen here in Chicago. Does your ballot, for instance, encourage the voter to think big or think small? As I look over the ballot which I have before me I notice that there are something over fifty different sets of officers to be balloted upon at one time—fifty-odd different issues or decisions for every voter to tackle. I notice that one of them is 'who is to be our next coroner' and another is 'who shall be the clerk of the court.'

"Well, maybe you think it is good democracy, good politics, for the people to waste their gray matter over such

issues. But I call it just gossip—the kind of stuff that furnishes the subject of conversation around the stove in the general country store. It is of the village stage in our development. But Chicago has passed the village stage. It is time this city put away village things. Goodness knows there are enough big problems of vital human interest to keep you busy for some time without fussing with such small matters.

“Then there is the other side—the result which flows from the long ballot to the breaking down of discipline in the operating departments of government. When these little subordinate officers are elected directly by the people—never supposing that the people really did elect them all—you must bear in mind that they derive their authority from the same source as their ‘superior,’ the elected executive who is put over them, charged with the responsibility for getting results. A condition arises, which could not and would not be tolerated in any private enterprise: the subordinates of the concern are absolved from any single-minded allegiance to those public officers, whose human instruments, whose right arm, they are supposed to be.

“But to return to the remedy for these conditions. If only big issues are to be put up to the voter, then only correspondingly big officials must be elected—chief executives and legislators. Then inasmuch as these men will be called upon to interpret the people’s wishes and to translate them into deeds, give them the power to select their own instruments as every responsible man must do. That is what the Short Ballot idea means.

“In the state government this would mean, of course, that the governor would have the appointment of a number of officers, like the secretary of state, the state treasurer and particularly the attorney-general. And he should not have to go to the Senate to have his appointments confirmed, for that virtually takes away the governor’s power and places it in other hands. Some day, in the

more distant future, you will want to carry the Short Ballot idea still further and eliminate the division of responsibility between the two branches of the legislature by wiping one of them off the map. You cannot have good legislation as a permanent institution so long as one house can continually ‘pass the buck’ to the other. And you cannot get the people to focus their attention on legislators so long as these conditions prevail. One legislative house has been found to be better than two in cities. The same principle holds good in states.

“Another branch of government which for present purposes is the most important, but the most neglected of all—the county. The county, electorally speaking, is nothing but a bundle of fictitious issues. It is so much in the shadow and it has so much easy money for the ‘boys’ that it ought to be taken under the wing of investigation, as indeed it has in this city, at the hands of the Bureau of Public Efficiency. I cannot dwell on this subject any longer than to say that in communities like Chicago, *the county must go!*

“But what is of perhaps the greatest interest along Short Ballot lines just now is the proposal to put Chicago under the city manager plan. That, to my mind, is the Short Ballot in its best and most effective form. The city manager plan is not an ingenious, clever device to secure good government. It is the result of ordinary straight thinking. Get all your local political power corraled in one place. Concentration of power? Yes, concentration of the people’s attention and hence of their power. Concentrate also the executive power, keeping it under the control of the people’s elected representatives. Then you will have as perfect a machinery for effective administration as is possible through mere forms of government. The city manager plan is the most perfect embodiment of the principles of true political preparedness that we have in America today.”



CLAIMS TO CONSTANTINOPLE

The Russian Premier's announcement last December that the Allies had definitely acknowledged the right of Russia to Constantinople and to the Straits, together with Germany's well known intentions to establish, if possible, a great Central Empire reaching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf seems to indicate that no matter how the war ends, Turkey's existence as an independent power will soon be brought to an end. Constantinople, which holds the keys to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, is looked upon as one of the richest prizes of the war.

The various claims to this ancient city were discussed by Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University before the members of the City Club at luncheon, February 21st.

"The course of events in the present war," said Professor Coolidge, "has awakened a new interest in Constantinople and on all sides we hear discussed the international problems that are bound up in the destiny of this famous capitol of the Ottoman Empire. A glance at the map will show its strategic importance. Located as it is at the meeting point of two continents and commanding the Straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it is one of the most important places in the world. The fact that during its long history of 1500 years it has been captured only twice, gives an idea of the natural strength of the place. During the past 200 years it has been thought that the Turks could not maintain themselves as a nation and that the Ottoman Empire would be partitioned among the powers, but the Turks are still there in spite of all the efforts made to dislodge them.

"Now the discussion centers around the problem as to what will become of Turkey after the war. Some hold that Constantinople should be a free city and a free port; that the Straits should be unfortified and open to the ships of all nations. This scheme, which seems very attractive, is unfortunately too imaginary to be practicable. The diverse elements that make up the population of Constantinople will make it difficult for **it to maintain itself as a free city.** Out of its population of about 800,000 there

are about 400,000 Turks, 150,000 Greeks, 150,000 Armenians, 50,000 Jews, besides a considerable number of other nationalities. It is very hard to believe that a population of this diverse kind, especially where there exists so much jealousy, hatred and dissension, can maintain a stable and satisfactory government. If Constantinople, therefore, should be a free city, it must be governed from the outside. There must be some kind of international control. But wherever this has been tried thus far, it has proved too clumsy and ineffective and always tends to break down in times of crisis. Besides with international control, each nation is likely to be jealous of its rights and suspicious of the motives of others.

"In regard to having the Straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles open and free, there is a great deal of loose thinking. There is a great difference in freedom in times of peace and in times of war. Freedom in peace is natural and easy to bring about, but it is a very different matter when war arises. The Russians, for instance, would be greatly tempted, in case of war, to seize the Straits, while an outside nation at war with Russia would likely do everything in its power to bottle up the Russian fleet in the Black Sea.

"Of course, international agreements could be made, making it impossible to fortify the Straits, but the world has not yet got to the point of abiding by such agreements in times of national danger. We cannot criticize harshly the attitude of the European nations in this matter as we would feel in the same way about the Panama Canal in the event of the United States being involved in a war with Japan. International guarantees have been made giving battle ships of all nations the right to pass through the Suez Canal in time of war, but what would happen to a German ship that would now attempt to take advantage of this agreement?

"The best way to settle the problem of Constantinople, others urge, is to leave the Turks in power. Many believe that they are more able to maintain a just and stable government than any of the other peoples of that country and that if left

to themselves they can work out their own destiny and develop an international policy that will safeguard the interests of the surrounding nations.

"The Greeks, on their part put forward claims to Constantinople based on historical grounds. Constantinople was once a Greek city and now the Greeks form the largest European element of its population. The Greek nation has long cherished the dream of making Constantinople the capitol of a Greek state. Since the nineteenth century the chances of bringing this about have become less and less until now the possibility is very remote indeed.

"The Bulgarians have no historical claims to Constantinople, but if we look at the map we can see how tempting the place is to them. It is so situated that its possession would be of vast benefit to their country. Such a settlement of the problem is not likely to be carried out because it does not meet with Russia's approval. It is rumored that in the first Balkan war the Russian government held back the Bulgarians from attacking Constantinople.

"Russia believes that her claims to Constantinople are deserving of serious consideration. Her claims are put forward on both sentimental and economic grounds. From the sentimental side it is urged that Russia got her religion and her civilization originally from Constantinople, so that this city is now looked up to by the Russians, just as Rome is by the people of Western Europe. After the fall of Constantinople the Russians regarded themselves as the proper successor of the Greek Byzantine Empire. Their wars against Turkey have been looked upon as something of a religious crusade.

"From the economic and practical point of view no one can dispute the great advantage that would accrue to Russia if she had possession of this important city. Russia's greatest natural wealth is found in the territory north of the Black Sea. It is full of important cities, of which Odessa is the largest. All the products of this country must pass out through the Black Sea, thus

going through Turkish waters. Russia has frequently suffered considerable loss through the closing of the Straits by the Turks. Russia calls the Straits the door to her house, which she must at all cost have the power of opening.

"Austria and Germany have long been interested in the country surrounding the Black Sea, but it is only recently that this interest has become very marked. Germany's dream of colonization came too late for her to get what she considers to be her rightful share of colonial territories, so her statesmen have turned their attention to the Ottoman Empire. With shrewd foresight they have cultivated close political relations with the Turks, trained their armies, built railroads and engaged in developing industrial enterprises. All this has given Germany a position of influence in Constantinople, which she is now seeking to use to her advantage. Germany feels that her future destiny cannot be successfully worked out unless she has control of some large territories. Her statesmen are now dreaming of a large central empire stretching down from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. They hope to bring about a great federation in which Germany shall have the controlling power and in which there shall be an unbroken line of railway communication stretching from one end of the country to the other. In such a federation Constantinople would occupy a central position and so, of course, it must be in the possession of the German government. Germany now feels that the issue in Constantinople is a vital one for her empire. The course of events during the war has made it one of the most important items in the German program. The German program, of course, cannot be reconciled with the Russian. Russia on the one hand wants an open waterway to the sea while the Germans wish such control of the country as would make possible the development of railway communications as far south as the Persian Gulf. How these rival claims can be adjusted it is hard to forecast. At the present time there seems to be no peaceful way out."



LLOYD-GEORGE AND THE ENGLISH WAR GOVERNMENT

Members of the City Club at luncheon February 23 were given a vivid picture of the present political situation in England by the well-known lecturer and writer, Mr. S. R. Ratcliffe of London. The vast changes in England's governmental policy under the leadership of Lloyd-George are full of significance for the future of democracy. According to Mr. Ratcliffe, England, under the stress of war conditions, has turned away from her old principle of individual freedom and has taken over to a large extent the system of governmental control that she had bitterly opposed in former years. The man largely responsible for this radical step is Lloyd-George, one of the most conspicuous and challenging figures in the British Empire. A remarkable fact about his advocacy of the policy of greater state control is that he is essentially a man of the common people, who, until quite recently, fought with all his strength against the conservative and aristocratic leaders.

Just what will be the final outcome of England's war government, Mr. Ratcliffe declined to forecast. There are some who say that England has been conquered by the governmental ideas of her enemies. At any rate England has felt compelled to improvise a new system to meet the war emergency. The crisis has meant a great awakening for England, a time when some outworn traditions have been cast aside for the sake of greater efficiency. In the opinion of Mr. Ratcliffe, a large number of these changes will continue after the war, but may be modified for the purposes of peace and for the enduring advantage and welfare of the people.

"Last year, when I addressed the Club," said Mr. Ratcliffe, "I touched upon some of the social and political changes then being undertaken in England under the pressure of the war situation. During the interval those changes have been continued with great completeness and rapidity. England is today astonishingly different from what it was in times of peace. The individualistic basis of industry and government has been abandoned. Wherever, formerly, the adult British citizen went about the

business of life largely indifferent to government authority, he now moves in continual consciousness of the compulsive power of the state. England has passed into a new order, a new condition of national reorganization, in which the entire resources of the nation are being mobilized for the purposes of the war.

"The bulk of the immense new army was recruited before the adoption of compulsion, but with the passing of the Merit and Service Acts, it became very difficult for any man of military age to gain redemption. Now the net is very fine; the army represents the manhood of the nation up to 41, and lads are called up on reaching their eighteenth birthday. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the newly appointed director-general of national service, is starting a scheme for the enrollment of men up to 60, and, although he has so far no compulsive powers, he is threatening to apply compulsion if the voluntary system should not yield a sufficiency of man and woman power. In the meantime compulsion is in force in the war industries. The vast numbers of men and women employed in the munition factories, controlled by the Minister of Munitions, work under a system of regulation resembling military law. In nearly 5000 plants some millions of workers are employed, their labor representing a stupendous concentration of wealth, skill, energy and invention.

"With every fresh stage of development the Government has been extending its scope. Beginning with tentative measures for the protection of the credit system, the control of the railways and other services, and the purchase of such necessities as sugar, the Government has gone on to take command of one great industry after another, the nation's food and the raw materials of manufacture like leather and wool. The other day it took over the entire mining system of Great Britain, with its more than a million workers; at any moment it might announce the complete state ownership of the merchant marine. It is impossible at present to say how much of all this is to be regarded as emergency policy.

or how much will be permitted to continue after the war; but the individual belief is that anything like a return to the old system of private ownership and commercial profiteering is out of the question.

"Meanwhile England has undergone a political revolution of a remarkable character. The party system was abandoned in 1915, when Mr. Asquith, the liberal Prime Minister, formed the coalition cabinet. This cabinet, though national in idea and inclusive in plan, proved less strong than its well wishers hoped, by reason of the lack of cohesion among its constituent groups and their disagreement upon essential questions of war policy. Under a chief less able and experienced than Mr. Asquith it would probably have come to grief much earlier. As it was, by the end of last year the military and political circumstances were such that they made most favorable opportunities for Lloyd-George and his allies. Mr. Asquith was overthrown, and Lloyd-George succeeded in forming its remarkable government now in office. The war cabinet of five members makes a break with English political tradition. Hitherto the cabinet has been composed of the heads of the principal departments of state. Mr. George presides over a cabinet from which the secretaries of state—home, foreign, war, admiralty, colonies, etc.—are all excluded. Mr. Bonar Law, the chancellor of the exchequer, is the only cabinet minister who has departmental responsibility; the others are what the French call ministers without portfolio. Again, Mr. George, once the most adventurous of radical leaders, is now the head of a national government in which all the

most important offices are filled by conservatives, leaders of the party he once was fighting with all his wonderful force of oratory and personality. Today the bulk of Lloyd-George's old colleagues are in opposition, under the former chief, while he is associated with Curzon and Milner and Carson. This is a startling outcome of the war situation, and naturally there is much discussion of the possibilities of Lloyd-George's future. Possibly his greatest test will come not during, but after, the war. If he should be Prime Minister when peace returns, it would seem that he may be confronted with a searching ordeal. The country will demand large and bold schemes of reconstruction, and the Minister who may be ready to carry them out will have to make his choice between popular support and the support of the more cautious and conservative classes. Can Lloyd-George, it is asked, ever be accepted by the English conservatives as their leader in times of peace?

"The Lloyd-George Government at present is strong in the support of the great majority of the public. It is free from the factious hostility which embarrassed the Asquith Government from beginning to end; it has a great opportunity and it will be given a chance, which will be not only fair, but generous. It came into being in response to the demand for a more resolute and energetic war policy. What the British people demand from it is success. Possibly expectations have been pitched too high, for in war time the populace gets into a mood only to be satisfied by miracles. Whether this is so or not, probably the events of the coming spring and summer will disclose."

The National Geographic Society recently co-operated with the Federal Government in securing the preservation of a forest of giant Sequoia trees in the Sequoia National Park, California. The sum of \$50,000 had been appropriated by Congress for the purchase of this forest which still remained in the possession of private parties, who had acquired their titles to it before the park was created. As the sum was insufficient for the purchase and no further

funds were available, the National Geographic Society responded to the appeal of the Department of the Interior and made a contribution of the \$20,000 additional needed to acquire possession of the forest on the part of the government. This Giant Forest, which has thus been preserved for the future enjoyment of the American people, contains trees 4000 years old, the largest of which is 103 feet in circumference and 280 feet in height.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY'S PROPOSALS FOR UNIFICATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN CHICAGO

In January of this year the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency issued a report on the "Unification of Local Governments in Chicago." This report, which is a sequel to their report issued in 1913 on the subject of "The Nineteen Local Governments in Chicago," is an attempt to point out steps that should be taken to bring about a reorganization and consolidation of the existing local governments for the purpose of securing greater efficiency. The Bureau has not concerned itself in this report with all the details about which there will necessarily be much difference of opinion. Their purpose has been to show the necessity of unification and to indicate what can be done in the immediate future to bring it about as rapidly as possible.

During the past few weeks various committees of the City Club have been making a careful study of the report. In order that all the members of the City Club might have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with this important problem, Alderman Charles E. Merriam and Hon. Walter L. Fisher were asked to discuss the proposed plan of unification at the luncheon of the City Club March 1st.

Victor Elting presided at the meeting and introduced the speakers who addressed the Club as follows:

Charles E. Merriam

"The plan for a unified local government, recently made public by the Bureau of Public Efficiency, is one of the most important constructive studies made of Chicago on the side of governmental organization. The government of Chicago has no center, and no co-ordinating power, and has become increasingly ill-adapted to meet local needs. The complexity of our governmental situation can be seen by the fact that we now have twenty-two local governing bodies. Some of these have very limited jurisdiction and are not of great importance; others, such as Cook County and the Sanitary District, are in a great measure co-extensive with the city boundaries and repre-

sent a vast amount of power. In the city government itself there are certain departments, such as the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, the Public Library and the Board of Education over which the city cannot exercise as close control as would be advisable.

"Now the difficulty of this scheme of government is a very self-evident and practical one. These twenty-two local governments are not only not co-ordinated, but they are in many respects competitive. When the state legislature is in session these different governing bodies send their lobbyists to Springfield to work for their own individual interests which have not been correlated with the larger interests of the city as a whole. The down-state legislators will do only a certain amount for the city and when they have granted the demands of one branch of the local government, as for instance, the park commissioners, they may refuse to consider favorably other propositions affecting the welfare of the city. Instead of presenting a united front when Chicago goes to the Legislature, our government is broken up into competing interests, often working against each other.

"Then consider the wastefulness of such a scheme of government because of the overlapping. Take, for example, public health, which is partly a city and partly a county function. We now have a county hospital and a city contagious diseases hospital; a county institution at Oak Forest for tubercular patients and a municipal tuberculosis sanitarium. Again, no one is agreed as to whether it is the duty of the city, the county or the school board to run the playgrounds and the recreation centers. When there exists such a difference of opinion, as well as a divided responsibility, the working out of a comprehensive plan is impossible.

"There can be no doubt that our present system, because of its overlapping, means a large waste in overhead expense. Just how much this is it is hard to estimate accurately, but three million dollars, which is the estimate of the Bu-

reau of Public Efficiency, is probably not wide of the mark.

"The Bureau of Public Efficiency has worked out a plan upon which there may be a difference of opinion in regard to details, but which in its general scheme would be a vast improvement upon our present government. It provides for the unification of the twenty-two governments in one central governing body. The number in the City Council is to be reduced to thirty-five and upon them is to rest the final responsibility for the framing of governmental policies in accordance with the will of the people. The City Council elects its own mayor or city manager, who in turn appoints the heads of the various departments of the city government. The city manager is to be chosen, not because of his political skill, but because of his administrative efficiency and his tenure of office will depend upon the pleasure of the Council. In this way all the departments of the government would be co-ordinated and centralized under a responsible head.

"We can easily see how such a plan will save money and prevent overlapping, but it will do more than this. It will also make possible a more effective working out of our democratic form of government. It is impossible under the present complex system for the average citizen to keep in touch with local problems and understand who is to be held responsible for their solution. The public, therefore, loses interest in political affairs and leaves the realm of politics to those who find it profitable to pursue it. Under the proposed plan 'passing the buck' would be more difficult. The mayor can be held responsible for carrying out the will of the Council and if the Council is derelict in its duty, the provision for recall would make it amenable to the will of the people.

"Such a form of government carried out on non-partisan lines is certainly a goal worth working for. It must not, however, be looked upon as a panacea for all our political ills. No form of government will work automatically, but such a step will be a move in the right direction and will do much to promote the welfare of the people of our city."

Walter L. Fisher

"The question before us for discussion is a large one and I will deal only with some of its features which seem to me most important. The great problem before men everywhere is how to build up efficient representative government. Our forefathers attempted to set up such a form of government on a scale on which it had never been tried out before. Dominated by the political philosophy of their day, they looked upon government as something that ought to be restrained, and so they devised a system of checks and balances that weakened its efficiency and its responsiveness to popular opinion.

"This form of government, however well adapted it may be to the protection of our national ideals of individual liberty, was never intended for the administration of our local governments. Our tendency in the past to pattern our local governments along federal lines has been a great mistake. We have overlooked the fact that our national government has really important legislative functions, while on the other hand our local governments deal mainly with administrative problems. Congress within recent years has more and more occupied itself with administrative affairs, with the result that its own efficiency as a legislative body has been hindered.

"In order to have effective government a careful division must be made between local and general interests. When the federal and state governments attempt to meddle in local affairs it leads to innumerable difficulties. On the other hand, when the local government is run on partisan lines it also loses both its representative character and its efficiency. The great questions of national policy upon which men divide ought not to be and in fact are not the determining factors in choosing administrative officers for a local community or in determining municipal policies. The beginning of reform in our local government must be the elimination of national issues and the conducting of elections on local issues and on a non-partisan basis.

"The next step is the reduction of the number of elective officers as is advocated by the Short Ballot movement. A democracy cannot function properly except on issues that are clear and by

methods that are direct. Our present system of electing by popular vote so many subordinate officials results in the confusion of the voters and in the choice quite frequently of inferior men.

"Another point where reform is needed is the matter of divided responsibility. This is an especially important question in our city where there are so many overlapping governments. The Bureau of Public Efficiency suggests that not only should all our local affairs be brought under one government, but also that the City Council should be reduced in number and elected for a longer term, subject to recall. This, I believe, is a step in the right direction, although personally I would later reduce the Council to 21 instead of to 35, as the Bureau has suggested. The reduction to 35 is doubtless the line of least resistance at present, as we have 35 wards and can provide for one alderman from a ward instead of the two we now have.

"The City Council should be much like the board of directors of a large corporation. The stockholders of a great business corporation do not attempt to elect the officers. This is done by the board of directors to whom these officers are then directly responsible. The City Council should choose and elect those who are to carry forward its policies. Then if there is failure in any department of government the Council's responsibility is clear and the blame cannot be shifted elsewhere. A business organization would not tolerate for a moment the loose methods of organization so common in our governmental affairs. From the standpoint of efficiency alone the city manager (or appointive manager) plan suggested by the Bureau should by all means be adopted.

"The present situation in our local government is financially wasteful and administratively inefficient. Steps should be taken at once to arouse public opinion that could effectively support the unification plan that is being put forward. In this education of the public the City Club ought to take an active part. Let each member familiarize himself with the plan and then advocate among his acquaintances as opportunity offers such of its features as appeal to him.

"It is often claimed that the individual members of the City Club are not called

upon sufficiently to participate in important public work. Here then is the opportunity for every man to do his part, by organizing support for a fundamental reform of our organic law, and by advocating the immediate adoption by the State Legislature of those steps that do not require constitutional changes. Some features recommended by the Bureau of Public Efficiency require constitutional changes, but a large part of its recommendations can be accomplished by statute. If this is to be done there must be a prompt and vigorous demonstration of public interest and support."

"The Dunne project for a waterway from this city to the southwest wins legally by a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court and Governor Lowden says he will carry out, as soon as practicable, the plan for the canal between Lockport and Utica. The source of the state's power to build the waterway is in the constitutional amendment of 1908, which authorizes the Legislature to exceed the bond limit for the purpose of constructing a deep waterway at a cost not exceeding \$20,000,000. Gov. Dunne's plan, announced in 1915, called for the expenditure of \$5,000,000 for a canal having a depth of eight feet. The litigation was over the question whether such a depth met the requirement of a "deep waterway." The supreme court says yes."—*From Economist, Feb. 24, 1917.*

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A SOUND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM THE SOLVENT OF THE SCHOOL PROBLEM

The three school bills now before the State Legislature have again caused public interest to be focused on Chicago's school problem. It is unfortunate that in such a vital problem as the administration of our school system, there should be so much loose thinking and confusion about the issues involved. The public in general is not well informed about these issues and finds it difficult to secure information that it can rely upon as fair and accurate.

In order that the members of the City Club might have an opportunity to understand the bearing of these three bills upon the solution of our school problem, a series of four discussions upon this subject was arranged. The first of this series was held at luncheon, March 2, when Professor Charles H. Judd, of the University of Chicago, addressed the City Club on the necessity of a sound administrative system for our schools. Professor Judd spoke as follows:

"In order to understand the Chicago situation as it is today, I think it is important that we should run back very briefly into the history of the school system.

Chicago's First School System

"The Chicago school system began before the incorporation of the city itself, as every other school system in this country began, as a district system. It has been characteristic of our people that they have been eager to come in immediate contact with their schools, even after they were prepared to accept representative action in many other matters. Even after the city was incorporated in 1837 district meetings, for the purpose of appointing teachers and for the purpose of determining what kind of buildings should be erected, were the only legal sources of authority.

"Certain advantages are to be found in a district school. The teacher in such a school was always intimately acquainted with the pupils and classified them with due regard to their individual attainment in each of the classes. A boy might be bright in arithmetic and the teacher would advance him in that subject. He might be dull in reading, in which case he would be in the third reader while he was in the fifth class in arithmetic. There was a great deal of flexibility and adjustability in the pro-

gram of that school. There was no organization to determine the course of study. There were no rigid lines laid down which must be followed by the individual.

"You can imagine the situation in the city of Chicago, for example in 1850. As late as that we had these districts.

"Imagine, if you can, a boy moving from one district to another, and you can see instantly why you cannot have in a great center of population that sort of a school organization. The moment the boy moved out of one district into another, of course, chaos began immediately.

Appointment of Business Manager

"Furthermore, the people began to realize that business management was loose. Some of the districts had good title to the land on which the schools were built and others did not. The people began to realize that these organizations throughout the city were not competent to carry on all their own operations, and so they appointed in 1857 a business manager. The business manager was appointed two years before they appointed an educational manager. They appointed a business manager because they realized the necessity of getting a title to the lands that were used for the schools. Not only that, but there were certain lands which had been set aside for the schools of the city, and provision for good management of these revenue lands was necessary.

"They had appointed in the meantime a board of inspectors. Those centralized inspectors were appointed to go around and see if the schools were competently run. They did not have the government of the schools in their hands, but were created to go into the schools and judge the success of the work going on there.

Duties of First Superintendent

"In 1853 they found it necessary to appoint a second central officer. This second central officer was to have charge of the course of study, and his chief business was to see to it that the same work was done on the west side and the south side and the north side, so that when a boy moved from one district into another, there should be some possibility

of his moving without interfering with his course of study.

"The superintendent organized the course of study. Observe this fact. When you organize a fourth grade in a school system where a large number of children are in the same building, you do not have the flexibility that you have in a one-room school. It is not possible to take a child and put him into a fifth grade arithmetic class and into a third grade reading class. You must organize your materials better. You must find out what division of arithmetic goes with a certain section of reading. And so our teachers have been studying for a long while these courses of study, and the results have been satisfactory. Children advance with much greater rapidity and certainty when the whole thing has been laid out and systematized.

Growing Complexity of School System

"Let us take a long jump from 1850, when there was a district organization, to the time when we began to grow very large. Gradually we extended the school period. In earlier days the school periods were short and irregular. We have now extended it to nine months. We have developed the course of study. There were at first only a few studies, reading, writing and arithmetic. We have put into these schools an enormous amount of new material. Nature study has gone in; history has gone in. We have put in more in the way of handwork; we are giving school training in domestic science and domestic art. The multitude of studies in the last half century creates an entirely new situation in the schools.

"Furthermore, our population is increasing with enormous rapidity, and we have in the organization of a school system a problem which is one of the unique problems of business organization.

Difficulties in Management

"It is not as if you had a factory all under one roof. Schools are scattered all over the city. They are so widely scattered that it is difficult to provide enough inspectors to cover all these different school centers. The fact is you have distributed over this great city 400,000 children. You have over 8,000 teachers. It is very much more compli-

cated than any organization under a single roof. You have the course of study grown complex. You have the management grown complex. The equipment of our schools has grown enormously expensive. The costs of operation, including salaries of teachers, together with costs of buildings and physical equipment, now constitutes nearly one-third of our public expenditures.

"All over the country we are trying to develop a machinery that shall control complex school systems. The situation in Chicago is not different from the situation in other cities. We are coming now in all our municipalities to realize the enormity of these problems. You will find the same sort of situation which we have in our city, in such a city as Cleveland. You will find a different situation in St. Louis, because that city a few years ago passed a very compact and well-organized statute governing its schools. But, as I say, in most of the great cities there are unsolved complications growing out of the new course of study, the enormously expensive equipment and the demands of teachers.

Disputed Authority of Board

"Our present troubles grow out of the fact that nobody knows what his authority is. It is absolutely impossible for us to determine in the present situation exactly what authority lodges here and there and elsewhere.

"Let us be concrete about that. The board of education assumes that it has all the authority that the public had at one time, and it is frequently asserted that the board of education as the representatives of the people can do what it wants to do in the schools. But that is not exactly true, because the board of education in this city cannot sell property, for example, without the concurrence of the common council. The board of education in this city cannot build a building without having the co-operation and concurrence of the common council in its initial action. The board of education in this city is created by the mayor, with the co-operation of the common council. And one difficulty that we are in at the present time in the city of Chicago is that of determining how far the common council can enter into some of these questions.

Relation of Board to Council

"The Buck bill cuts off the board of education absolutely from the common council and makes it an elective body. It says it shall be an elective body and it shall be free from the common council and shall be free to sell property. The Otis bill and the Baldwin bill agree in leaving the election or appointment of the board of education as it is today in the hands of the mayor, with the concurrence of the common council. We have therefore in the Baldwin bill and the Otis bill the present system, coupling up the board of education with the common council at the time of appointment, but separating the board of education from the control of the common council in the matter of the sale of property, whereas the Buck bill makes a clean sweep of the whole matter and says we shall have an elective board, and then that elective board shall be free to do as it thinks best about property.

"I do not want to dwell too much at length on these financial matters. They illustrate the statement that we have at the present time no clear definition of authority in our school system.

The Superintendent of Schools

"In our statutes there is no provision defining the functions of the business manager or superintendent of schools. They are the results of action on the part of the board itself. In this city we have a most extraordinary situation with regard to these officers. In the first place, let me deal with the superintendency, because I think that is the office of greater importance. We appoint our superintendent in this city once every year. No other great city does anything of that sort. I think there is not an educational officer in this city, or an educational officer of any school system in the United States, who believes we are right in electing our superintendent once every year.

"Furthermore, when we get him elected, he does not know what his rights are. He has to deal with committees. I heard one of the members of the board of education make the statement that they have something like sixty committees. Every one of these committees has more authority than the superintendent. The board of education can

withdraw any right whatsoever it has ever given its superintendent. The superintendent never knows whether his opinion is wanted or not. He never knows when he initiates an opinion of any kind whether he is going to get the slightest recognition.

Board Should Not Run Schools

"The point is that we have in the board of education an authority so superior to the powers of any executive officer that an executive officer is utterly in the dark as to what he can do or what he cannot do. Is that right, from the point of view of expediency? I think all of you business men realize that what is necessary to conduct the schools is technical experience. A board of education can no more conduct the schools without expert operatives than you can run a railroad unless you have somebody who is trained to do so. And if you go back in the historical sketch which I gave you, you will recognize that the board of education was never created with a view to asking them personally to conduct the schools. At first a body of inspectors was created for the purpose of determining whether the schools were well run. But the schools were run by technical people, and the districts selected the teachers directly. If you go back through any school organization you will find that the parent who wants to have his child taught is anxious to have that child put in charge of somebody who is competent to teach the child, and that person must be sufficiently trained to do this. We do not allow the parent to determine qualifications or to pick out the person who is to train his child. We have made it the function of our state to guarantee the ability of a teacher to teach our children.

Clearly Defined Duties Necessary

"We all know of the relations in this city between the board and the teachers. We have a body of teachers organized and critical of the board of education. We have the board of education critical of the teachers. Standing between them we have the superintendent, absolutely shorn of power; a superintendent that never knows from day to day what he can do, a superintendent whose judgment has again and again and again been

set aside by a majority vote of the board.

"That is an intolerable situation. It is bad management from every point of view. How are we going to correct it? The answer is by setting up a clear definition of duties and rights. The board of education should appoint the teachers, but the recommendations should invariably come definitely from the technical officers who know what qualifications are required of the teachers.

"The board of education should settle definitely whether a building should follow a certain plan, but the plan should be made by some one who knows what that building is going to be built for.

"In other words, there ought to be technical officers competent to lay the general plans of the school system, to make reports to the board of education detailing what is needed, and we should have a 'yes' or 'no' from the board of education. If it is a 'no' the board of education should never try to do the job. If the board of education is unwilling to take the teachers examined and recommended by the superintendent, it ought not to step into the superintendents shoes and do his work. A board might do it once or twice with success, but not always. A system can not be properly conducted if you disregard technical judgment on these technical matters.

Superintendent's Lack of Power

"The fact is that in a number of the bills presented to the legislature it is left open for the superintendent to be superseded by the board, which proceeds to do the superintendent's job, exactly as if the board of directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad should say, 'If we cannot get suitable engineers we will run the engines ourselves,' and you and I know whether or not we would buy tickets on such a railroad.

"We do not want the board of education to run the schools. They ought to see to it that such an organization is set up that there will be a fixed and clear division of labor, and until they introduce that clear division of labor we are going to have the troubles of today; we are going to have the board of education undertaking this, that and the other operation within the schools, when those operations ought to be in

the hands of people who are efficiently trained and guaranteed under the state law to render expert service.

Teachers' Tenure of Office

"The board of education and a body of the teachers are in a controversy. I suppose nobody would deny that. There may be some question as to how big the body of teachers is that is in controversy with the board of education, but the controversy is here, and it is very acute. And do you know what is going to happen very shortly in the legislature? Some of those bills, and they are very strong bills—some of those bills that are being discussed in the legislature are going to give, if they are passed, permanence of tenure to teachers in this school system.

"I am opposed to this proposal. I am for the teachers. I want them to get all they deserve. But, if you give a system of teachers permanence of tenure you ought to do it with your eyes open; you ought to realize what that means. It means that a young man or young woman who has been well trained in our normal school, for example, will be given a trial for three years. At the end of that time the teacher is appointed permanently. Do you see the assumption back of that? If you have trained yourself to be a teacher and if you have done the work fairly well for three years, you are guaranteed for the rest of your working life.

Danger of Permanency of Tenure

"Do people guarantee a workman in business under any such terms? Do you want your children to study under teachers who do not have in some perfectly definite way behind them a stimulus to keep at work? If we pass a bill which gives them this permanency of tenure, we ought to see to it that the interests of the public are equally cared for. There ought to be written into that statute a law that there should be kept a record of the work of every teacher; that that record should work automatically to bring to the surface any teacher who is incompetent, and there ought to be such strength in the administrative officers of the school system that such a record can be kept and used.

"You know what is being said at this time. Some of the officials of this school system have said that they do not dare report a teacher as inefficient, and it has been said by our board that we have incompetent teachers in the system, because the principals and assistant superintendent do not dare to report them to the board of education. It has been said by our board of education that they must do the job of eliminating these inefficient people, because our supervisory system has failed absolutely.

"If it is true we do not dare to record inefficient teachers, if it is true we do not know how to tell inefficiency, are we going to run our heads into a stone wall by giving permanency of tenure to the teachers? That is what these bills are doing. They are giving such permanency of tenure that you can get teachers out only after a long legal struggle.

Efficiency Must Be Guaranteed

"It seems to me that until we have this matter worked out with perfect clearness, we have no business to be stampeded into the kind of legislation now proposed. I want to say again that I am interested in the teaching profession to a degree that makes it my professional business to advocate every advantage to the teacher that can be found. But I do not believe it is an advantage to the competent teacher to have these bills of permanency of tenure passed. If I taught in the fifth grade I should not want to have permanently under me in the fourth grade an incompetent teacher, because I could not competently take care of my fifth grade, if the work in the fourth grade were not competently done.

"So I say again that we ought to write into the same statute that gives any person a guarantee of permanency of position an equally strong guarantee of efficiency. Let us wait and draft those two things into the bill together. Do not let us draft one and go along with the hope that we are going to get the other in due time, because if you get permanency in first you are going to have extraordinary difficulty in getting the other in later.

Overhead Management

"It is possible to organize this school system if we recognize one very simple principle of business, and that is that overhead management well worked out always pays for itself. I tried by a very few figures at the outset to show how our school system has grown more and more and more complicated. Take the district superintendents in this city. If you compute their allotment to the population of the city, each district superintendent in this city has charge of a district which contains two hundred thousand people. That is, each district superintendent is the manager of the educational side of a city of more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. He cannot do it. It is physically impossible. Remember this is not a factory under one roof, to be overlooked by a foreman. This is a set of schools distributed widely. We ought to have overhead management in this city that would guarantee one district superintendent to at most seventy-five thousand inhabitants. That means that we ought to double up and more than double up the actual overhead equipment in the superintendent's office. Furthermore the superintendent ought to have his functions clearly defined. He ought to be given the instruments for scientific testing, equipment for making complete records of all the teachers, and assistance for other necessary types of organization.

Kind of Board Needed

"Overhead organization needs technical, expert work. I am not making any plea for an elaboration of the board of education. I do not think the board of education ought to be elaborated. I think the board of education ought to be small enough to do its business and not be a public debating society. It should not represent every kind of race of people. It should consist of people who know how to secure proper agents to make a careful study of the situation. The small board ought to elaborate and expand the overhead management and equipment so that experts can bring to the community a clearly defined scientific report of the needs of the city. We ought also to have a clear showing in regard to the conduct of our schools.

Within the last fifteen or twenty years we have developed an educational science with methods of testing, with methods of impersonal judgment, that make it possible to give a perfectly clear statement of what is going on.

"There is need of a clear cut definiteness of relationship. We ought to have the relation of the board of education to the city defined with perfect clearness. We ought to have the relation of the board of education to its executive officers clearly defined; the functions of each clearly defined. The relation of the school system to the teachers ought to be technically defined. There ought to be no hysteria in regard to the tenure of teachers just because we are sentimentally interested in them. We ought to have formulated with perfect definiteness and perfect clearness a program of efficient conduct for schools."

Teachers and Labor Unions

The meeting being thrown open for discussion, the speaker was asked to state his opinion about the relation of the school teachers to a labor union. Professor Judd said in reply:

"That is a large social question, the relation of the school teachers to a labor union. My answer is this. I do not believe that membership in unions is the first question to be settled, and I would rather not see it made the first and only matter of discussion. I should rather go back and say there is one fundamental question to be pressed; are the schools efficiently conducted? If we get that question answered, the other question will, I believe, disappear.

"Personally, I do not care what teachers join. If I found their affiliation interfered with the operation of the schools, and I think that can be determined, then I should not hesitate at all to say that that affiliation must be severed.

"I should raise always the question of efficiency and ask, is there efficiency here and here and here, and wherever I found inefficiency I would weed it out, whether it was connected with labor or anything else. But I should like to see that question for the time being relegated to the rear; I think that the exclusive discussion of that question is a fatal mistake in the situation."

FITTING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM INTO THE FABRIC OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. George C. Sikes and Professor George H. Mead were the speakers at the luncheon of the City Club on March 3rd, when consideration was again given to the issues involved in the reorganization of the Chicago school system. The discussion at this meeting centered around the method of determining the membership of the board of education. Mr. Sikes advocated the plan of an appointive board while Mr. Mead pointed out the advantages under our present system of government of having the members of the board elected directly by the people. Mr. Edward Yeomans presided at the meeting and introduced the speakers who addressed the Club as follows:

George C. Sikes

"I have been asked to speak here today, as I understand it, because I am opposed to the so-called Buck school bill, or rather, to the elective feature of that bill. I wish to take advantage of the occasion also to point out that there is in my opinion little if any need of school legislation at all at this time. I am inclined to think Chicago would be better off if it secured no school legislation from this session of the General Assembly.

"We should go to Springfield only for needed enabling powers, or for the removal of shackles that hamper action. It is unwise to appeal to the legislature to prescribe rules where the local authorities may cure defects if they will.

"I cannot understand why so much bitterness of feeling should have been developed over the Buck school bill. I think Mr. Buck was prompted by a sincere desire to promote the public welfare and that the methods he followed were creditable. I differ from him on the fundamental principles which have been embodied in the bill.

Educational Experts

"In the first place, let me say a word about experts. It is the duty of the public to discriminate in the use of experts and to be sure that it is following the advice of qualified men in the particular

subjects under consideration. It was in this respect, it seems to me, that Mr. Buck was led astray, though he acted with the best of intentions. Mr. Buck was originally a believer in a considerable measure of council control over the schools. He began his fight along those lines. Meeting difficulties, he and the aldermen with whom he was working called in experts for advice. The experts invited, however, were all educators. No experts on government were called in. Now I insist that the questions involved in framing school legislation are governmental in nature rather than educational. The experts whom Mr. Buck called in—most eminent men in their line—were well qualified to tell the board of education how to administer the schools. However, they are not authorities on questions of government. We have Mr. Buck himself to thank for the fact that the educational experts were not followed completely in the drafting of this bill or it would have been worse than it is.

Need of Simplicity in Government

"American cities have gotten into a bad condition because by patch-work legislation they have substituted complicated for simple methods of government. The result has been to make confusion worse confounded. The legislation of Illinois with reference to school management is fairly simple today. I insist matters can only be made worse by having the legislature lay down inflexible law complex rules about school management. They say the superintendent of schools of Chicago has no status in law. Well, what of it? That is not a serious matter. I would not object to a simple stipulation that the board of education should administer the schools through a superintendent who would be its executive agent. But suggestions for legislation do not stop there. It is proposed by many to give the superintendent a long tenure in office, to define his duties in detail and to put him in a position to defy the board. The correct plan of government, whether for a city or for the school system, is to vest the

power of control in a legislative body or board and allow that legislative body or board to select its executive agent. The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency in its recent report on the Unification of Local Governments in Chicago recommended that the mayor should be chosen by the council and that he should have no definite tenure. To my mind the schools should be managed on similar lines. The superintendent of schools, instead of having a tenure of four years or longer, should hold without fixed term and should be subject to removal at any time. Thanks to Mr. Buck, the efforts of the educators to have the long term for superintendent incorporated in his bill was not successful. However, that objectionable idea is incorporated in other school bills pending in Springfield.

Objections to Elective Board

"Now, as to the elective feature. I object to the popular election of members of the board of education because it means an increase in the number of elective officials when the ballot is already too long. I object also because the selection of board members by popular election means enormous expenditures of public money for election purposes. We are planning now to reduce the number of elections, in order to save money, and making the school board elective would thwart that object. I also object to an elective school board because that means greater independence of governing bodies of one another. An elective school board would necessarily be entirely independent of the city council. I believe we need closer co-operation of all local governmental agencies. Activities of government cannot be wisely set aside by themselves and controlled as if they had no relation to other matters. There should be co-operation, for example, between the schools and the libraries. The city and the board of education should work together, too, in providing playgrounds and other athletic facilities. I think Alderman Buck was right at the beginning of his council term when he started to fight for closer relationship between the city council and the board of education, and that he is wrong now in standing for an elective school board, which

means a school board entirely independent of the city council.

More Fundamental Reforms Needed

"The school situation in Chicago is unsatisfactory. But our entire local governmental situation is unsatisfactory also. The Buck bill if put into effect might prove of temporary benefit. In fact if the Buck bill should be passed by the legislature and submitted to a popular vote next November I might vote for it myself if the choice were to lie between management of the schools by an elective board chosen on non-partisan lines and an appointed board named by a mayor elected on partisan lines. I would vote for the Buck bill under such conditions merely as a temporary expedient. It would not embody my ideas of a wise plan for permanent school management. If we can make provision, however, for a mayor to be chosen on non-partisan lines, I would prefer to leave the selection of the school board in the hands of the mayor. Really, the mayor who is elected for a four year term ought to be subject to recall. Dissatisfaction with school management today follows naturally from the practice of selecting partisan spoilsmen as mayors. Instead of trying to better school conditions by dealing with the school system as a separate question, we ought to make our entire city government representative of public interests. Instead of trying to reorganize the school board and provide for its selection by popular vote, it seems to me the people of Chicago should be demanding that the legislature provide at once for the election of the mayor and aldermen on non-partisan lines and that those officials be subject to popular recall in case they do not function properly."

George H. Mead

"When Mr. Sikes stated the principles on which he thought the schools ought to be organized in this community he was quite in agreement with the essence of the Buck bill, with the exception of the elective school board. The whole plan of the measure is built upon the principle that Mr. Sikes referred to, that the school board should operate through

a competent manager, in other words, through a superintendent.

Problems of Administration

"There is nothing essential in the bill which is more than a logical development of that principle. The whole experience of this country and others has demonstrated that a board cannot itself administer properly. A board is not the proper administrative organ. If you wish the proper administrative organ you must appoint men who will be responsible to the board for their administration.

"Mr. Sikes also admitted that there are questions of policy which are involved in the administration of our schools and that these questions should be decided by elective officers. The Buck plan makes use of these principles when it makes first of all the separation between an administrator and a board which appoints the administrator and which lays down the policies of administration. This leaves with the school board the determination of the policies. It appoints an administrator who is to carry out these policies. It requires that administrator to bring all measures before the school board and obtain its consent. If the board does not consent, they are sent back to him, and he is called upon to bring in other measures, and if still he does not bring in measures which the school board approves, the school board may then dispense with its superintendent.

"In accordance with this measure the board appoints its administrator and is at liberty to dispense with him, though the bill does allow the school board to make a contract of three years or less if it desires to do so, on the theory that they may not be able to secure the superintendent they desire without such a contract. The school board has the right not only to appoint its administrator but also to dismiss its administrator. These Mr. Sikes admits are correct principles. The only essential point of criticism by Mr. Sikes on this whole Buck bill is the election of the school board.

Need of School Legislation

"Now, we have to deal with the situation as we find it. When the Buck bill was worked out we did not have as yet

the project of the Public Efficiency Bureau, for which Mr. Sikes is largely responsible, the project for the unification of local governments in Chicago, which has since been brought before the city and which we hope may be put into operation before many years. No one can tell how soon such a project as that can be put through. In the meantime we have the school problem before us, and this is in a very critical situation. Everybody seems to be agreed that some sort of legislation upon it is going to take place this year at Springfield. We are all pretty well agreed that such a bill as the Public Efficiency Bureau has brought forward cannot be put through at this legislature. Some enabling legislation may possibly be put through, but not the whole undertaking.

"But we are going to have some school legislation at Springfield. What sort of legislation should we have. Certainly the sort of legislation we should have is that which recognizes these correct administrative principles which Mr. Sikes has brought out; that the school board should operate through a competent administrator, and that the school board in enunciating its policy should be responsible to the public.

Disadvantages of Appointive System

"Under the appointive system the school board is not responsible to the people. At the present time, and for the near future at least, the city council will not be properly responsive to the people upon matters of education. The members of the council are not elected upon these issues. The school policies will be determined by those interests and individuals that have access to the school board, for the people themselves have no direct approach to that body.

"Mr. Sikes did not refer to the fact that the members of the board of education are not city officials. They are state officials. Whether we like it or not that is the fact. They are appointed by the Mayor in accordance with state enactment, but the Mayor himself is not able to remove them. We have a body of twenty-one gentlemen who are responsible to nobody. They are not responsible to the Mayor who appointed them. They are not responsible to the council. They are not responsible to the people of Chi-

cago. They can be affected only indirectly by public opinion and by means of the various influences that are brought to bear upon them.

"With such a situation as that before us, with a school situation that has become more and more trying through the last twenty-five years, with the increasing demand for some school legislation, shall we simply wait till a proper reorganization of the city government takes place?

People's Voice in School Problems

"I want to come back to the point that there are a number of policies having to do with the schools upon which the people should pass. First to what uses should our school buildings be put, apart from their immediate educational use by the children? There are the larger educational uses connected with community centers; the providing of auditoriums for political gatherings and for neighborhood meetings, which are so essential for the formation of a healthful city life.

"These are questions of public policy on which the school board has to pass, going beyond the immediate range of children's education, but affecting materially the life of the community. They should not be settled by those who are not themselves immediately responsible to the people.

"Then secondly there are the questions becoming more and more insistent, which have to do with vocational training, continuation schools, and vocational guidance, which affect the future history of our children as they come out of school. Those are questions which occupy more and more time and attention in industry, in education, and especially in the families from which the children come.

"How are the children to pass from the schools into the industries? What sort of situation are they going to find? What sort of training are they going to have in industry? These are the questions that affect not only the policies of the schools, but affect the whole policy of the community itself.

"We find that the employers are very much interested in these matters, for they want efficient laborers. The families are interested, because they want

their children placed in the proper employment. The educators are interested, because they want to know whether the work which the children do will be educative work or not.

"These are questions which go beyond the purview of the public school. They are big public questions that can only be determined from the point of view of the policies to which the community at large is willing to commit itself. They must be settled by the people, directly or indirectly. If they are settled indirectly the chances are they will be settled wrong and dissatisfaction will continue to exist.

Elective Board Responsible to People

"If we have an elective school board we have the chance of bringing these questions before the public. The Buck bill calls for an election every two years. Then if we have an election for members of the board of education at large on a non-partisan basis, the men who come forward will have to have some sort of platform. The public will demand that they define their stand upon certain issues. The attitude of the community will be discovered and their interest will be aroused. That is the advantage of the elective system. It enables the community to take up deliberately problems of this sort, which are insistent now, and which will be more and more insistent in the future.

Important Problems We Are Facing

"I do not think we realize how serious these problems are going to be in the future. We do not recognize that the industries have ceased to educate those who go into them. We do not realize that most of the great industries have given up apprenticeship, or that where they continue the apprenticeship they do it by means of a school system. We do not realize that many of our public school systems are introducing trade schools. It is being generally recognized that the best form of trade training can be given in a trade school that is put into an industry itself but is still kept under the public school system. This will mean that our children, perhaps up to the age of eighteen, within no very distant period are going to be able to continue at school, either in voca-

tional classes, or in continuation classes, and every year that you advance the educational life of a child means added social problems that will demand consideration.

"The average unskilled laborer in this community gets twelve dollars a week. I doubt whether he gets much more under the present unusual conditions. Are we going to educate children up to the age of eighteen and send them into unskilled work which pays them only twelve dollars a week here in Chicago?"

"I cannot answer the question. I bring it up to indicate what sort of social problems will arise in connection with our schools. More social problems in the community, I think, are going to become insistent in connection with our educational system than in connection with any other phase of our city life. These are serious questions and when we have such serious questions as these, questions of policy that will affect the employer and the laborer, we must have men on the school board who are responsible to the people themselves.

Board's Function Not Administrative

"There is every reason why we should have popular control over those who appoint the superintendent, who is going to administer the whole school system. But in order that those men may be responsible to the people we have got first of all to separate them from administrative duties. The people won't have a chance to pass upon questions of public policy if those who come before them have an immediate interest in the questions of administration. If the contracts to be let for school buildings, for the purchase of school lands, for supplies, if all the financial questions which are involved in the spending of over a third of the city's revenues are going to be questions with which this board is going to deal directly, and not through a competent administrator, then the issues upon which the people will vote will be determined by the influences that lie behind the spending of this vast sum of money.

"If we have a system that is going to be carried on by a proper administrative machinery, so that the work of the school board consists of the appointment of competent individuals and holding

them up to their work, and laying down the general policies, then we can have an election on those policies; but we cannot have an election on those policies while the school board itself takes a hand in the administration of a school system which should be conducted by experts.

School System Needs Experts

"I do not think that we here in Chicago fully realize how specialized an occupation the superintendency of a school system is becoming, that it involves a great deal more than the ability to select teachers who shall teach in the grades and in the high schools. The selection of sites, the erection of school buildings, the supplies, are all technical questions, which as Professor Judd has pointed out, the average business man is no better fitted to pass upon than a wholesale grocer would be to determine the equipment of a plant that constructs Pullman cars.

"Chicago has in the operation of its schools an entirely different type of business to work out and it must be worked out in great detail. We must have a superintendent who is able to direct it. He is not going to do it himself. He will nominate competent men, for the teaching and for the business side, but he has so to direct that nothing will be done in the schools except with a view to the education of those who come there, and this is what the Buck bill contemplates. If we have this we can go to the people and say: 'Elect your school representatives. Elect competent men who will express your wishes in the matter of school policies.' And the board of education will put in a competent superintendent to direct this whole complicated apparatus.

Bureaus to Test Efficiency

"I want to say just one word in closing which bears closely upon this. One of the good points of the Buck bill is that it definitely contemplates the appointment of bureaus which shall report upon the work which is done by its officers and teachers. If we are to make use of experts in a democracy, one thing is absolutely essential. We must have some method of checking up on what the experts are doing. We cannot turn

our government over to experts and say: 'You understand this, therefore, you are to run it.' We must have a definite system of finding out what they are doing and what they should do. This can be done and has been done in school systems. We have gone far enough now, so that we can, by means of impersonal bureaus, find out whether teachers are accomplishing what they should accomplish, whether the expenses which are involved in our school buildings are what they should be, whether the expenses are too large in the different parts of the school system, and so on in great detail.

"It is possible to have a bureau which will keep in constant touch with the operation of the schools so that we can see from year to year, or in shorter periods, what is going on in the schools.

It is possible then for a democracy to pick out experts and give them full responsibility. For we will be able to see if they produce the results, which we demand.

"This is essential to any proper system of education. It must provide not only a body that is responsive to the people, to determine the policies, and put its administration in the hands of competent administrators, but it must provide also the bureaus that will constantly report upon the work of the schools to test their work from year to year and from month to month.

"These elements are in the Buck bill, and notwithstanding the lack of governmental experts in formulating the measure, I think you will find these principles are just those that the governmental experts would have insisted upon.

THE EDUCATION BILLS PENDING IN THE LEGISLATURE

At the third meeting in the series of discussions of the school problem it was planned to have the authors or sponsors of the three school bills pending in the State Legislature discuss the salient features of their respective bills and show in what way they proposed to modify the existing law. Senator P. G. Baldwin, who had been engaged to discuss the Baldwin bill, was not present. Ralph C. Otis, a member of the board of education, presented the claims of the Otis or Mueller bill. The provisions of the Buck bill, which was prepared by a subcommittee of the city council, were explained by Alderman Robert M. Buck. They spoke as follows:

Ralph C. Otis

"In regard to the school bill that I am advocating, I feel a good deal as one of my ancestors did when he died many years ago and was buried at Cape Cod. They wrote on the bottom of his tombstone: 'Bilious but hopeful.' That is very much the way I feel when it comes to getting any legislation through Springfield.

"Do not think for a minute that you can pass a bill in Springfield just because you believe in it. It is very difficult at

best as it is extremely hard to get all factions to agree. It takes very little to defeat a bill. As one of the senators said to me: 'We will not give you school legislation; we will be satisfied and you can go along as you have in the past and be more or less satisfied.'

Defects in Present School System

"I have been on the board of education for almost four years, and I have noticed the impossible organization that it is. I have watched carefully the friction between the board of education and the city council. Sometimes it is well based, but most always it is not. There is as much trouble on the side of the city council as there is on the board of education and vice versa.

"The way in which the two organizations are hooked together through the school laws at the present time is not workable. The arrangement of the teaching organization, the educational department of the school board, is also not workable.

"The superintendent's office is not a superintendent's office. There is no such office in the law of the State of Illinois. He is simply a school teacher like any other teacher in the system, and is not recognized under the law.

"The business department of the board of education has many heads. There is no business manager. If you wish to learn something at the board of education, you are referred to so and so, who again refers you to somebody else, and so on down the line. One man should be in full charge.

"I am not an educator. The Mueller bill, which is now before the Legislature, does not come purely from educators' minds. I do not pretend to know much of education or about education, but I know that our present system is bad.

"The first idea in drawing this bill after carefully considering and discussing it with past members of the board and members of the school system, was to divorce the school system from the city council. That, I think, is the spirit of every one of these bills before the Legislature today. I think Mr. Buck had that uppermost in his mind in his bill. I discussed it with Mr. Buck at the time and he was one of the men who thought such a policy desirable.

Powers of the Superintendent

"The superintendent should be given all possible powers, just so that he is not czar of the organization. There are two classes of people to satisfy—the educators and the business men—and I have included with the business men the tax-payer. The tax-payer or the educator cannot have all—each must give in a little.

"I presume the educators throughout the country would say that the superintendent should be the executive head as the president of the United States Steel Company is the executive head of his company. The tax payer does not believe that the school man is capable of being an executive and have full charge of the expenditure of twenty-four million dollars.

"There is something in favor of the tax payer, and, of course, there is much in favor of the educator; it is hard to please both. In the Mueller bill we tried to go as far as we possibly could in giving the educator large powers. We gave the superintendent of schools a tenure of four years, so he could establish his policies. We also gave the board of education, which is the court of last resort—and many people think it should

be—the power to initiate on a two-thirds vote. Many people believed, especially among the educators, that they should not have any powers so far as initiating business on educational matters is concerned. It would be difficult to convince the public that the trustees should be shorn of their power and unable to initiate business. It takes a two-thirds vote and, therefore, before they would act the superintendent would have to be radically wrong.

Teachers' Tenure of Office

"We have protected the teachers by giving them a tenure of office. When they have served three years their position becomes permanent. You cannot make the teachers too permanent, and you cannot give the teachers an appeal to a jury and take the question out of the hands of the trustees who hire them. The public does not expect the trustees to keep incompetents to teach the children of the city. They must be removable, and they must be protected against unjust discharge. Therefore, in the law, as the Mueller bill offers it, they have a tenure of office. They receive notice of charges and can appear before the board for trial, and if they are found incompetent they can be dismissed by a majority vote. This gives them a chance to defend themselves and it is what they have been asking. It also protects the people against incompetents.

Sale of School Lands

"There has been a great discussion over the Mueller bill and the Baldwin bill as to the sale of school lands. I can say for both bills, and I have talked it over with Senator Baldwin, that there was no intention to make it easy to sell the land; it was simply to make it possible to sell lands without going through the long process of having the city council act. As we figure it, it now takes us about nine months before we can get any action whatsoever, and as a rule nothing can be done.

"In the Mueller bill, land is protected by three-fourths of the vote of the trustees. That would be nine out of eleven trustees. I do not believe that you can select eleven men as trustees of any organization, public or private, and find nine of them dishonest. It is not pos-

sible. Furthermore, the Mayor has the veto over the nine votes. If that is not strong enough, it can be made stronger.

"However, that is minor. We wished to find a way to sell some of the acres that are lying on the west side, which stand there like a great ulcer, and destroy the property in all directions, bring in no taxes, are useless and cost the public a tremendous amount of money. As a real estate man, I think that this large section of 280 acres which we cannot seem to remove is going backwards, because the improvements on all sides are depreciating. This, of course, brings down the value of the land of the board of education. I would like to see something done so that those great tracts of land right in the heart of the city would be built up and in ten years you would get back in taxes all that the land is worth. As it is, in my estimation, the condition of that tract of two hundred and eighty acres lying close in on the west side is deplorable, and it is wrong to the community and the surrounding owners of property to keep it. If you were to sell all the school land in the city of Chicago, excepting that in the loop, we would probably get about \$1,500,000, excluding, of course, the school houses and so forth, and after selling it and getting the full price, it would not run the schools for a month and a half. There has been no intention to sell the section in Clearing. That is six hundred and forty acres. It is still farming land and is probably worth \$600 or \$700 an acre. No one has had any thought of selling it now. We want the law so that we can dispose of the school land when necessary, for the sake of the city and the tax payers.

Duties of the Business Manager

"They have in this bill—the Mueller Bill—a business manager. The superintendent, if you read the bill carefully, you will find initiates practically all business. He selects the sites and decides on the plans, and has practically all the powers except that the Board of Education has reserved the right on two-thirds vote to do as it pleases.

"The business manager has the entire business system of the board of education in hand. He is the executive head of the business end of it. He carries

out the recommendations of the superintendent of schools, uses his business judgment to see that the money is well spent and not wasted. It would be a tremendous advantage to us and a step forward if we could pass a bill which would make it possible for our school system to be brought down to a concrete business basis. We have a legal department, which we have separated from the others and put a head there with a tenure of office similar to that of the business manager and superintendent. That department should be carefully guarded. He should nominate his own assistants as he does. He should have a tenure of office to avoid any possibility of a political raid on this department and to prevent his being given more assistants than he needs just because some political organizations are in need of a few jobs.

Size of the School Board

"The number of the board of education is reduced to eleven. It is now twenty-one. It is too large; it is clumsy; it is unwieldy. Some people said it should be reduced to five, others fifteen. The question was to reduce it as low as we could and be safe. Some of the men who were consulted about this bill thought that eleven was small enough to handle twenty-four million dollars. A majority of eleven is six; a quorum would be six, which makes a very comfortable committee on the whole, and they can do business much more satisfactorily than the large board does at the present time.

"We agreed on eleven after careful consideration, thinking that was a fair compromise, and it was a great step forward. I think, though, that eleven men or women is a small enough board when it comes to handling such a vast business.

Board Should be Appointive

"The method of appointing the eleven members is the same as it was. It was carefully considered and we could find no better way of appointing the board. The council represents the people, and the Mayor is elected directly by the people. The trustees are given a five-year tenure so that they will go over from one administration to another, thus making

it impossible for a mayor to control the schools. For instance, now (and this is in no way a criticism) under the present conditions the Mayor of the city of Chicago appoints all twenty-one members. In fact, there are sixteen of us whose terms have expired and whenever the Mayor is ready to make his new appointments he can clean up the board of education."

Robert M. Buck

"The city council school reorganization bill is the result of consultation by the schools committee of the city council with some of the most eminent, trained educators and experts on school administration in the country. These gentlemen came here at great personal inconvenience and at great sacrifice in order to help the city council to try and diagnose the case, to find out if possible what was wrong with our public school system and to help us in our efforts to try and find a remedy. The council school bill, which was prepared after consultation with these experts, was not drawn with the idea of obtaining a compromise measure that might succeed in the legislature. It was a bill that we felt did the most that we could suggest toward correcting the vital flaws in our school administrative system.

Relation of School Board to City Council

"Mr. Otis said that all three bills contemplated the divorce of the board of education from the city council. Because he has laid so much stress upon that and because he has said that was the thing he thought we had most in mind also, I should like to point out the fact that therein lies the principal difference between the city council bill and both the Baldwin and the Otis bills, or Mueller bill, as Mr. Otis called it.

"That is to say, the Baldwin and the Mueller bills divorce the board of education from the city council without making the board of education more responsible to the people of Chicago. In other words, they add great powers to the board of education without a corresponding increase in its responsibility.

"The city council bill on the other hand gives the same degree of responsibility and of power and authority to the

board of education. It separates the board of education from the city council to the same, if not to a greater degree, but aims to make the board of education more responsive and more responsible to the people of the city of Chicago in the exercise of their power.

"For instance, both the Baldwin and the Mueller bills say concerning the levy and collection of taxes: 'Nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to authorize the levy or collection of any tax by the board of education, but all school taxes for educational and for building purposes shall be levied by the city council upon the demand and under the direction of the board of education.'

"Now, instead of running around Robin Hood's barn, to give the board of education the right to levy its own tax by demanding the city council to do it and directing the city council how to do it, the city council was more liberal with the board of education and said that the board of education shall levy its own tax and do it directly instead of indirectly.

"But the ultimate result of those two methods is the same, and then the question arises: Do you want a legislative body that is not elected by the people to levy its own tax? I think perhaps that is as wide a departure from our adopted theories of self government as there has been suggested around here lately. We have been in the habit of having taxing bodies who impose burdens upon the people elected by the people. I know that the majority of the school committee and the sub-committee who drew the bill was of this opinion; that either there should be no board of education and the school should be a department of the city government, or the board of education should be an independent body with its own powers, financial and otherwise, and should be elected by the people as the members of the city council are.

"Personally, my own opinion is that we should have no board of education. I believe that when we come to have a city manager plan of government here, when we get the kind of municipal organization we ought to have in Chicago, with the various local governing bodies all united into some kind of efficient governmental enterprise instead of the

kind of an inarticulate thing that it is now, that we ought to have the schools combined with that whole scheme under a superintendent of schools or commissioner of education, whatever you want to call him, with the ultimate power of legislation for that system resting in the city council. But we haven't that yet, so I think the next best thing is that which the experts advised, namely: To have a board of education that is organized to create the policies and assume the responsibility of public business, elected by the people, with its own powers, financial and otherwise.

Present School Board Too Large

"The city council bill agrees with the bill of Mr. Otis in that it works upon the theory that the board of education is too large. It goes further, however, and reduces the number of the board to seven, because that was the number that experts seemed to agree was in their judgment the most suitable for a school system such as ours. A board of this size has the advantage of being small enough to act as a whole without being split up into standing committees.

Method of Election

"These seven members are to be elected on a non-partisan ballot. The non-partisan provisions of this bill are the same as those for the non-partisan election of the Mayor and city council proposed in the bill as sent down to the legislature four years ago by Carter Harrison, then Mayor of Chicago. Upon the primary and election ballots there will appear no party appellation, no party column, no party circle, no party symbol of any kind.

"They are subject to the recall, and the recall provision is based upon a combination of recall provisions from various states.

Salary of School Board

"The members are placed on a salary in this bill. The city council voted that the salary should be five thousand dollars a year. That was a keen disappointment to me. The thing the sub-committee had in mind was that the membership on the board of education should not be limited to citizens who have money and leisure, but it should be pos-

sible for a man of a less prosperous class to have membership on the board of education. We realized at the same time that we did not want to make a political job of it. We did not want to have the salary high enough to tempt a man to put in his whole time running the schools. The sub-committee suggested that the salary of the members of the board of education be fixed at fifteen hundred dollars a year, so that board members would have to do something else for a living. The committee on schools boosted this amount to twenty-five hundred dollars, and on the floor of the council it was finally raised to five thousand dollars.

"The term of office is fixed by this bill at six years. At the first election the whole seven shall be elected, three for two years, two for four years and two for six years, and at the conclusion of their terms their successors shall be elected. These elections are fixed in this bill to take place in even numbered years, when the chief municipal elections are not held, thus making it possible to focus attention more completely upon school issues.

"Then, according to the provisions of this bill, the board of education is made a body politic and corporate so it may levy its own taxes. It further seeks to have the board of education act more as a legislative body and directs that the board of education shall pass by ordinance an administrative code which shall set forth the general policies of the school system. In the past, the board of education has been so little a legislative body that instead of having a permanent code of legislation defining its policies, it has had a code of rules which are suspended by a majority of the board temporarily at will.

Authority of the Superintendent

"In addition to reorganizing the school board itself, we attempt to reorganize the school system; and having in mind the same principle that Mr. Otis has in mind and that is embodied in the Mueller bill, but much more carefully and better articulated in the council bill, we set up the superintendent of schools also as a statutory officer, and we name what his powers shall be. We give him the power to initiate school policies to a

much larger extent than is made possible by the provisions of the Mueller bill.

"We provide here that the board of education shall be a legislative body and shall create the policies of the schools, and that it shall hire an expert, a superintendent whose business it is to administer those policies thus created. If the superintendent does not satisfactorily administer those policies as created by the board all they need is to change their superintendent and get one that will. Mr. Otis has well said we have no superintendent of schools as things now are. The president of the board of education is really the superintendent of schools under our present situation, and that is wrong.

Business Administration Subordinated

"Another point of difference is that the city council bill does not set up a two or three branched school system, but seeks to mend the present condition of having a business administration apart from the educational department. As things are now we have a secretary of the board in charge of administrative or business affairs drawing ten thousand dollars a year on one pedestal and on an equally high pedestal and a little way over we have the superintendent of schools in charge of the educational or class room department drawing ten thousand dollars a year. Some one has said it would be a great relief if one would draw nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine dollars, so the other fellow would be drawing a little more and have a little higher caste.

"We seek to place the whole thing under a superintendent of schools, on the theory that the board's business is school business, and should be administered by a school man. We provide that the superintendent shall be the head of the whole system, and he shall have under him an assistant superintendent of schools in charge of business affairs. So we have a direct responsibility, instead of having a diffusion of responsibility.

"We do provide that the attorney, comptroller and experts to measure the work of the schools shall be hired by the board independently of the school system and shall be directly the employees of the board.

Teachers and School Policies

"Then we provide that the voice of the teachers shall be heard in the determination of school policies. There is at present a system of teachers' councils in our school system, but it does not work well. It is not completely organized, and the superintendent of schools is able to refer to these councils or not, as he may see fit, questions of school policy. This year the councils were not assembled at all.

"Under this bill, which provides for publicity in all things, all questions of school policy, such as changes of courses of study, text books and so forth, must be submitted to self governing educational councils of principals, teachers, supervisors or whatever they may be, who have to do with the application of that educational policy in the class rooms. The superintendent of schools under the bill is not bound by the advice of those councils, but he is bound to make them of permanent public record together with his conclusions thereon, so that any person who wishes may read what the teachers had to say and wherein they differed from the superintendent on school policies.

Tenure of Office

"The remaining point to which I will refer is that of providing tenure for teachers. This bill has a much more complete tenure section than have the other bills. It provides the contrary of the report that has been spread, namely, that teachers cannot be fired except by going into court. It provides that where teachers are dismissed for inefficiency or neglect of duty, the decision of the board shall be final and shall not be subject to review by any court.

Fundamental Principles of Bill

"So the bill of the city council is based upon certain broad laws worked out after consultation with these men who are trained in school administrative work. It is a balanced scheme. It seeks to build up the powers of the board of education far beyond what that power is now. But it seeks not to build that power up unless these men are elected and are the direct representatives of the people. Under our present system they are appointed by an elective officer who

is elected on other issues and they are not directly responsible to the people, nor responsive to public opinion. They cannot be removed, under a decision of the Supreme Court. They are responsible to no one but themselves, unless we should happen to have on that board a number of high grade public servants. Under this present system you cannot have a majority of high grade public servants on that board; and we have not had that kind of a majority on that board for a long, long time.

"Now, there are then these broad lines upon which this bill is built. First, the reorganization of the board, together

with the building up of its powers after it is made elective. Second, the reorganization of the school system into a single school system under a single administrative head instead of a diffusion of authority. Third, the consultation of eight thousand educational experts in the school system, namely, the teachers, who come in daily contact with the problems of the school, and who ought to have a voice in the determination of school policies. And lastly, the protection of the teachers from political exploitation, by providing them with tenure of office so long as their service is satisfactory, and not beyond that point."

IMPORTANT FEATURES OF PROPOSED SCHOOL LEGISLATION

Dr. C. E. Chadsey, Superintendent of Schools in Detroit, was the last speaker in the series of discussions of the School bills. His address before the City Club, which had been arranged for March 6th, had to be postponed one week because of his inability to keep his earlier appointment. Mr. Edward Yeomans, chairman of the meeting, in introducing Dr. Chadsey, said:

"Dr. C. E. Chadsey, superintendent of schools in the City of Detroit, has been selected to conclude the series because of his brilliant record as administrator of the schools in Detroit and other places and also because of his reputation as a writer and as a student of school problems. And he was selected also because of the fact that he has been dealing recently in Detroit with some of the problems we are facing here in Chicago, and so is eminently fitted to understand our situation here and to pass judgment upon our proposed school legislation. I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. C. E. Chadsey of Detroit."

C. E. Chadsey

"I am very deeply interested in the general subject that you are considering here in Chicago, because as a superintendent I am naturally interested in your educational problems, and because of the fact that some of the difficulties that you are laboring under are difficulties which we have been experiencing in

Detroit, and which we hope to be able to eliminate, or, at least, lessen.

"Your chairman has asked me by way of introduction to tell you something about the problem that we have at Detroit, so that you will be able to see to some extent the similarity of our conditions.

Detroit's School Board

"Detroit at the present time has a board of education of twenty-one members. They are not appointive members, they are elective. They are not, however, elected at large, but by wards. In other words, Detroit at the present time and for a few weeks to come, is one of the few remaining cities in the United States which has the old anachronistic form of ward government, so far as schools are concerned. The result has been that we have had for a good many years a board of education of a very mixed quality. I think there has not been any time when one could not have found some members of great ability, with a disinterested attitude towards the problems of education. Those members sometimes have possessed a personality which has enabled them to lead, to direct, and to bring about many desirable improvements. At all times, also, there have been members who have secured their election for other purposes. In some cases the desire to serve on the board of education has been stimulated by the knowledge of the publicity that

is thereby gained, enabling the individual to become well enough known by the residents of his ward to enable him to secure election to the city council or, possibly, to the state legislature. At the November election of this preceding year three of our members were graduated into the city council and one into the state legislature. Three or four others tried to graduate, but failed.

Weakness of Ward System

"This desire to secure positions upon the board of education for these and other reasons has often resulted in the election of men who have had no vital interest in educational problems as such, but who have had a very vital interest in connection with the appointment, let us say, of the janitors and engineers of the schools. Many of those members have had a very narrow outlook, and, under no conditions, could be expected to have much interest in the educational problems of the city. So we have often had the anomalous situation of having the board of education devote hours to discussion of very insignificant matters, possibly involving the transfer of one janitor from one building to another building, or the appointment of an additional janitor; and then adopting, without any discussion, a recommendation of the superintendent involving the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars, or radically modifying some educational practice.

"It is not an exaggeration to say that not infrequently changes have actually been accomplished, vital to the welfare of the schools, with little knowledge of the members of the board of education. Not that there was any intentional concealment, but the time and energy of many members were entirely taken up by other less important matters. The result, of course, is easy to be seen. In many ways, inefficiency of one kind or another developed. The dissatisfaction of the community as to these conditions increased to a point that made it possible for the legislature to pass a bill providing for a board of education of seven members to be elected at large, to take the place of the old ward board, provided that the people of Detroit would ratify that action of the legislature by referendum vote.

Passage of New Law

"This was placed before the people of Detroit at the November election and, very fortunately as I think for that city, certain rather extreme actions of the board of education occurring almost immediately before the election, certain failures to support the administration with reference to things which are essentially matters of administration of the superintendent, revealed in a dramatic way to the people of Detroit the weaknesses and the inefficiency of the method of ward control; and the people, by vote of five to one, determined to substitute for the large ward board a small board.

"It unfortunately seemed impossible at the time this bill was passed to include in it certain things that you are discussing here and which should have been included and are included in the original bill, which was replaced by a bill providing simply for the change in the number and for election at large.

The Illinois School Bills

"I have not made a very careful study of the bills which you are considering here, but I am satisfied that there has been a painstaking consideration of many of the necessary points which should be included in a bill governing a school system, and I believe that it is possible for the State of Illinois to pass a bill which will really bring about a very wonderful improvement in the administration of the schools.

"I can say what I am saying without any reflections of any kind upon present conditions, because those conditions are common to many cities. Most of the things which I would criticize individually concerning the Chicago government of its schools apply at the present time to Detroit, and I am striving with all the energy that I have to bring about a change by securing the adoption of rules by the board of education which will parallel those which you are considering in connection with your bills.

"I do say that in my judgment it is far preferable to have a number of those principles embodied in a bill rather than in rules governing the board of education, because it is always so easy to change the rules of the board of education if there comes to be an actual change

in the personnel of the board. So it is very conceivable that very desirable rules might be modified in a very harmful way.

"Those of us who live outside of Chicago but who have been interested in observing the administration of its schools for the past few years have felt that there were two very decided weaknesses in connection with your system, so decided that they almost made impossible what might be termed really effective school administration.

Superintendent's Term of Service

"The first of those, and the easiest to change, is that for many years your school superintendent has been elected from year to year. That has made of the position a political position. That is to say, the superintendent being human, in the very nature of the case is desirous of being reappointed. No superintendent under ordinary conditions will welcome failure to be re-elected. He would much prefer to change his occupation in some voluntary manner. Therefore, being human there is constantly in his mind the idea that in a few months it is going to be necessary to secure at least the support of a majority of the members of the board of education, or his career as an educational administrator in Chicago is going to be at an end. That makes it difficult for him to carry out a well conceived plan of education, because no man can map out a constructive plan of school administration which can be very well established in one year. He cannot work out a plan of radical improvement in school administration without having assurance of uninterrupted control. Therefore, in the very nature of the case, a rather long term of office is essential for genuine improvements. The superintendent needs to feel that he can, with some reasonable degree of certainty, calculate upon the exact measure of support which he is going to receive from the individual members on his board, and rest assured that if his plan is well considered, within his term of office, it will be possible to convince fair-minded representative men that his ideas are right and that they should be supported. And he should feel that if he cannot secure that support after having been given a certain number of years to

carry out his plans, that should be prima facie evidence that he is not the man for the place and some other man should be elected in his stead. But I believe that there should be security of tenure for a reasonable length of time to accomplish his work.

"I think, therefore, and in that I differ with some of you, that a definite term of office as long as possible is highly desirable. I regret that these bills which provide for a term of office limit the term to four years. I think the policy adopted by New York and Boston of the six-year term is preferable; and that when we are working on plans of such vast magnitude as are necessarily involved in cities of the first class, the six-year term is none too long for the carrying out of those policies and methods.

Powers of Superintendent

"In the second place—and this is in many respects even of more importance than the question of the length of term—there should be a very definite line of demarcation between the authority of the board of education and the authority of the superintendent of schools; and the authority of each, and the powers and responsibilities of each, should be definitely stated in the statute governing the schools. There are certain powers which the superintendent should have and which under no conditions should be assumed by the board of education. Such powers, for instance, as the nomination of teachers to the schools, the promotion of teachers from one rank to another; the confirmation of teachers and the dismissal of teachers, should be powers possessed by the superintendent, and not by the board of education. It is right and proper that the board of education should have a veto over the actions of the superintendent, but I am inclined to think that veto should not be by a mere majority vote. I do not believe that when we are dealing with the appointment, with the promotion, or with the dismissal of teachers, the recommendation or nomination of the superintendent should be nullified by a mere majority of the board of education. I think it should be by either two-thirds vote or a three-fourths vote, but it certainly should be possible for the board

of education to veto an action of the superintendent. Obviously, also the selection of text books, and the formation of courses of study should be, so far as the board is concerned, the responsibility of the superintendent.

"If time permitted an elaborate discussion as to the powers of the superintendent I should modify this statement by expressing my personal belief that he should exercise those powers only after the most serious consideration of those questions with committees of his supervising officials and of the teachers themselves. A course of study can never be made by the superintendent, and can never be made by the assistant superintendent, supervisors or teachers alone. It must be made through the co-operation of the teachers themselves with the advice of those who are able to see some of the problems from a wider point of view. All courses of study should be so formed. There is nothing more incongruous to me than the idea that laymen should have the power to formulate any course of study. Yet it has been true that for several years in larger cities there are instances where the powers to formulate a course of study have been definitely taken away from the superintendent and assumed by a body of laymen.

Function of School Board

"There are, naturally, certain definite powers which must remain with the board of education, but the great thing for a board of education to learn is that its duties are very closely to be compared with the duties of carrying on a business by a board of directors of any large business enterprise. These are legislative duties. They should receive from time to time regularly, definite and specific reports as to the work which is going on and as to the moneys which are being expended. They should have the opportunity to express approval or disapproval of the great educational policies which are being carried on in the schools and should act in all ways as a group of men who really represent the community as a whole, but who from the very smallness of their number are able to confer in a democratic way with those who are officially charged with the responsibility of the administration.

"That is to say, representing the city, it is necessary and highly desirable that the question of a budget shall be finally passed upon by the board. The board of education should not make the budget, but it should finally pass upon it as a whole and not in its details. But the budget, in its details, should show not only the board of education, but all the citizens in general all the proposed expenditures in the schools so far as they can be anticipated. This budget having been adopted, it should be the duty of the board of education to limit its expenditures to the amounts specified for each sub-division and where emergencies arise which involve a modification of the budget, say, for instance, for expenditures in connection with some department which may involve the transfer of some funds from one department to another, there the board of education should be supreme, and the superintendent of schools and the business manager should have no authority without the approval of the board.

The Council and School Budget

"As to whether the board of education should be absolutely the only body to levy and collect taxes, there are, of course, honest differences of opinion. In my judgment it is better, where we have an elective board, to have the board of education levy taxes. But I question personally the advisability of having those taxes collected independently of other city taxes. That, however, is a detail that I do not wish to discuss particularly, and I don't know that I could maintain my beliefs with any special strength. I feel, at all events, that if the city council or some other body has the power to levy taxes and to determine the amount of money to be collected by the city for the purposes of education, it should be limited to a consideration of the total amount to be so collected, and should not have the power of increasing or decreasing the amount that is to be expended for any particular department.

"When they have determined the amount to be given us it then should be the duty of the board of education and the superintendent to determine how it is to be expended, how much should be for salaries, how much for coal, how

much for kindergartens, and so on. I hope I have made my point clear. If the city council or any other body reviews the budget of the school system, the changes made should be in bulk and not in detail. It should be legitimate for a reviewing board which has made some study and taken some care in determining what the schools need to be able to say that it might be well to cut the budget \$700,000, or it might be proper to say: 'We think you are increasing the teachers' salaries too fast; we do not believe you should spend that much in increasing teachers' salaries, and so forth.' But the board of education should act with the advice of the superintendent and not in any arbitrary way.

Superintendent the Chief Executive

"That brings me to the next point, on which there has been considerable discussion here and elsewhere, but especially in the large cities.

"Given an administration which has been given definite powers should there be a sharp distinction between the so-called educational powers exercised by the superintendent and the so-called business powers exercised by the business manager? In my judgment there is only one answer to this question, and that is that there should be no such division of power. The superintendent is the man who should be the executive head of the school system. The purpose of the school system is the education of the children of the community. There is no other reason for that responsibility. Every dollar that is expended is being expended because it is believed that it is worth while for the education of the children of the city. Therefore, there should be the closest possible connection between the expenditure of money and the individual who is charged by the board of education with the task of bearing the burden of responsibility for the efficiency of the school system.

Problem of Business Management

"In every large city such as Chicago and New York, I recognize the necessity of having a business manager. We have in Detroit such a business manager. The superintendent has no time to transact those matters himself personally. Obviously the business manager should

be a man who has had good business training and good business ability; who is an organizer, and who can see that moneys are economically expended. But that business manager should be distinctly subordinate to the superintendent. His rank should be the same as the rank given to the higher educational officials subordinate to the superintendent. And the same relationship should obtain. Under those conditions there is a unity of administration, a possibility of efficiency, and the surety that we will have a superintendent responsible for results, which cannot be found where there is a separation of the business and the educational affairs of the city.

"In the second place, wherever there has been a separation of educational from business management for any great length of time, it seems to be inevitable that if the business manager is given co-ordinate powers with the superintendent, the tendency is for the business side of the city to become magnified at the expense of the educational side, possibly because business details appeal more strongly and with greater force to the business men who ordinarily compose the majority of the members of the board of education. Therefore, it finally becomes possible, when the superintendent is a co-ordinate or subordinate official to the business manager, for the board to carry out educational policies according to the plan of the business manager and his advice rather than in harmony with the educational policies of the superintendent. That is a division which inevitably must decrease the efficiency of the school system.

"I think that that point cannot be too strongly emphasized, because there seems to be a tendency on the part of boards of education quite frequently to believe in that method of division. Some boards have argued that a business manager should be appointed to look after the business affairs of the schools, for they hold that it is not often the case that a superintendent is a good business man. But as a matter of fact the superintendent must be a good business man because he is thinking all the time in units of cost. Everything that he does carries with it the realization of the elements of cost. He must be a good business man to that extent, and obvi-

ously should not have a subordinate place to the business manager.

Objections to Salaried Board

"I have read what is known popularly as the Buck bill, in which you are interested. I personally approve very heartily of nearly everything that I saw in the bill. I think it is to be commended, but I wish to put myself on record positively as opposed to the proposition that is contained in it that the members of the board of education should be salaried.

"In the very nature of the case if the board is a salaried board we are going to make it a board to which politicians will wish to be elected because of the salary, and we should have on the board men of the type that we have had in the past to which I have alluded. Also some men who might be willing to serve on the board of education will refuse to take such positions because they will see the position in which they will be placed before the public, for the public will say that if they are receiving a salary of \$5,000 a year they must justify receiving that salary. And they are not willing and cannot afford to take the time to do that from their own private work. On the other hand, if you have a small unsalaried board of education, composed of men who see their natural duties and their natural limitations, it is possible for the board to be so organized that the superintendent, who has been given specific powers, and the business manager will make bi-weekly or monthly reports to the board of education in an informal way. At the meeting of the board these reports will be received, and the board will meet as an informal group of men receiving reports and determining policies without the expenditure of much time. Under those conditions I am sure a most efficient board may be secured and that a most efficient school system may be developed.

Tenure of Office

"In regard to the mooted question of tenure of office, I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that personally I do not believe in an absolutely assured permanent tenure of office for teachers. Of course, in the very nature of the case we are striving for the higher efficiency of our schools. When a teacher

ceases to be efficient, she should not remain a teacher. I think that is fundamentally the true position. On the other hand, the teacher is a member of a specialized profession. It is obvious that she should be assured permanence in her position if she is efficient. It should be an unheard of thing to remove a teacher for any cause other than inefficiency, immorality, or conduct of some kind unbecoming that of a teacher. But where a teacher is guilty of any or all of these things it certainly should be possible to dispense with her services. Theoretically I am not in favor of unconditional tenure of office. Practically I have no objection to permanency of tenure and in all ordinary systems the efficient teacher is never removed from her position. The passage of a tenure of office bill will unquestionably bring about a feeling of security on the part of the teacher which, under suitable conditions, is highly desirable. I believe, however, that there should be a very definite way of securing removal of inefficient teachers without the necessity or the possibility of going to the courts. It is just and proper that a teacher against whom charges have been made, or a teacher that it is proposed to have removed should have the opportunity of being heard and having her day in court, but not the civil courts. Her day in court should first be with the assistant superintendent who is her immediate superior; then with the superintendent of schools and, finally, if there still seems to be the necessity of appeal with the board of education, or, perhaps, preferably a committee of the board. I think perhaps that that is the better way, that it should be before a committee of the board. And it is necessary in that case that the decision of the committee of the board should be final, without further appeal. Otherwise it becomes impossible for a superintendent to secure the removal of a teacher who is absolutely inefficient.

Tests of Efficiency

"I think that in that connection the investigations which are being made in many of the larger cities with reference to scientific measurements of education offer a very promising solution of the problem. I am perfectly convinced from

investigations that we have made in Detroit that it is going to be possible to measure the work of the teacher in such a definite and objective way that there may be records made which will show the actual efficiency of the school, a record which will finally constitute authentic evidence of efficiency—evidence so authentic that nobody can question it. But, so long as it is true that we do not have this objective evidence—so long as it is true that a teacher may be dismissed for inefficiency when her superior officers do not show the nature of that inefficiency by means of tangible evidence, so long will it be impossible for the superintendent always to be able to convince the board of education that the personal element does not enter into it, and in fact error of judgment will sometimes make it unwise to sustain the action of the superintendent. But when we get that systematic and scientific measurement, we are going to have tangible records which the teacher herself can see and discuss with her superior officers. Having seen those records she may have an opportunity to overcome her inefficiency within a reasonable time, but if within this reasonable time she has not become efficient, this fact will constitute an unquestionable argument for the severance of her connection with the school system.

"On the other hand, when the teacher is absolutely in a life position, when her removal from her position is a practical impossibility, a school system will inevitably have a constantly increasing number of teachers who are timeservers, who have no high ideals in their work, and whose work is absolutely out of harmony with the educational ideas of the city. Such teachers are not interested in co-operating with the administration to secure greater efficiency, and are undermining and disintegrating influences."

Board Appointive or Effective

A MEMBER: "Do I understand you to say that you are opposed altogether to

the appointive method by the board of education?"

DR. CHADSEY: "I do not say that. I am inclined to believe that most of the evidence would seem to indicate that we are apt to have a more satisfactory board of education under the elective than under the appointive system. That may not be so in every case. An officer who had the power of appointment, who would exercise that power in an absolutely disinterested fashion, without any political significance whatever in connection with his appointments, merely seeking the strongest men and women who are available, would unquestionably get an ideal board of education. However, even under those conditions, I would prefer decidedly the appointive system, for there would still remain this one argument against the appointive system: We claim to be a democracy; we claim that the people should have the deciding power in connection with the operations of the democracy. Where we have an appointive board, no matter how we go about it, there is a realization on the part of the electorate that it has very little to do with the personnel of the board; that it has very little responsibility as to the schools. Under those conditions there is developing in course of time an estrangement between the electorate and the school system from a failure on the part of the community to have any responsibility in supporting the school system in the way it should be supported. This realization of ultimate responsibility can only be brought about by the intimacy which should exist between the electorate and the school system through participation in the election of the board of education. I believe that in time an elective board is going to develop a school system which comes very nearly being the school system which the communities want, just as I believe that in the long run state universities or municipal universities absolutely supported by taxation will come more nearly meeting the public needs than any endowed universities can possibly hope to do."



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CLUB NOTES

IN the very near future a musical entertainment—the fourth in the National series—will be given at the City Club under the auspices of the Committee on Music Extension. **The program will be exclusively Russian.** A Little-Russian (Ukrainian) Chorus will sing national and characteristic folk songs, and a Balalayka Orchestra of 12 (in national costume) will play typical and interesting melodies and songs of various sections of the Russian empire.

The concert will be preceded by a Russian dinner.

Come and hear Russia speak in her beautiful and expressive music.

The date will be announced by postal card.

The program of the Balalayka Orchestra is as follows:

1. March—To the Victors of Liberty ("Bortzam za Svobodu").
2. The International Hymn ("Marcel-liese").
3. "Vsie Govoriat" (a "velikoros" song).
4. "Svietit mesiatz" (a "velikoros" song).
5. Mazurka (a classical dance)—Veniavsky.
6. "Oi ne khodi Gretzia" (from a little Russian operette).

7. March—Longing for the Fatherland ("Toska po rodinie").
8. "Moi kostier v tumanie svietit" (a Russian romance).
9. Russian Dances (by A. Kotoff):
 - (a) "Vo sadu li v ogorodie."
 - (b) "Gopak."

MEMBERS are reminded that they may bring ladies to the City Club after four o'clock in the afternoon or any night in the week that the Club is open. Many members are taking advantage of this privilege to bring members of their families to the Club for dinner, and evening entertainments. More of them would perhaps do so if they knew of this privilege.

It is a rule of the Club, however, that no ladies are permitted to attend club discussions at noon luncheons or to make use of the general privileges of the club or main dining rooms at that hour. There has been a demand from time to time for this privilege, but in fairness to the general body of the members this cannot be granted at the present time.

At luncheon discussions, the speaker alone has the privilege of bringing one or two ladies.

THE attention of members is called to House Rule No. 12 of the Club, regarding guests. The rule as shown in the year book has been amended by the addition of the portion in italics, and is as follows:

Persons when accompanied by a member may be extended the privileges of the Club without a guest card. *But residents of Chicago and suburbs may enjoy these guest privileges not oftener than once each calendar month, except in private rooms.* Members introducing guests in this manner are, however, requested to register them in the Club guest book each time a guest is so introduced. Upon application by a member the secretary may issue a guest card to a non-resident for a period not exceeding two weeks. A guest card may be issued to members of City Clubs in other cities with which reciprocal membership relations have been established for the same period upon presentation of membership credentials.

THE following persons have joined the Club since March 15, 1917:

B. F. Affleck, President Universal Portland Cement Co.
C. Webster Andrews, Sales Engineer, Carrier Engineering Corporation.
James F. Burke, Wall Paper Department, Sears Roebuck & Co.
Warren J. Burke, Western Manager Lewis Manufacturing Co. Hospital Supplies.
James I. Carroll, John A. Carroll Bros. Real Estate.
J. B. Coombs, Insurance.
Harold M. Conard, Salesman, L. A. Talcott Co. Wholesale Groceries.
Barrett Conway, Assistant Secretary Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.
Francis L. Daily, Lawyer.
Dr. Nathan S. Davis, III, Physician.
Dr. Daniel N. Eisendrath, Physician and Surgeon.
Charles J. Eldridge, Division Cable Manager, Western Union Telegraph Co.
Arthur Fisher, Law Student.
Theodore L. Hedrich, Vice President Otto H. Hedrich & Co. Coal Merchant.
Frank A. Helmer, Lawyer.
E. M. Hibberd, Salesman, Sun Company. Producer, Refiner, Shipper and Exporter of Petroleum.
George W. Jenkins, Instructor of Voice.
David R. Kennicott, Estimator, McKeown Bros. Building Contractors.
Fred W. Lee, Lee Paper Co.

John W. Leslie, John H. Leslie & Co. Fruit Importers.
Isaac B. Lipson, Lawyer.
Roy R. Mann, Manager Palmer House Boot Shop.
A. E. McKinstry, Division Manager International Harvester Co.
Charles C. Meloy, President Chicago Gold Coin Stove Works.
Thomas D. Miller, Gas Engineer, Consolidation Coal Co.
Harry S. Moses, H. S. Moses Company. Dress Accessories.
Harold J. Newton, Sales Manager I. A. Bennet Company.
George W. Norton, Municipal Bonds.
J. J. O'Grady, Assistant Manager Waltham Watch Company.
David B. Peck, Vice-President Bowman Dairy Company.
J. Ralph Pickell, Publicity and Promotion Department, J. Rosenbaum Grain Co.
Edward F. Reineck, Commercial Wall Paper Mills.
Albert J. Russell, Transportation.
H. S. Sackett, National Lumber Manufacturers Association.
W. A. Scharon, Artist, Lord & Thomas.
J. LeRoy Schwyer, Chicago Manager James Lees & Sons Company.
Dr. Henry B. Thomas, Surgeon.
E. G. Timme, Actuary and Assistant Secretary Continental Casualty Company.
Frank L. Venning, Architect and Draftsman, Lowe & Bollenbacher.
Dr. Walter H. Watterson, Medical Superintendent of Field Work, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.
H. I. Wrigley, Mechanical Engineer, Universal Draft Gear Attachment Co.
Hubert D. Wyllie, Sanitary Engineer.

AMONG the numerous election bills now before the Legislature, an important one is House bill 457, which was submitted by the City Council of Chicago on the initiative of Alderman Merriam. This bill provides for the non-partisan election of all municipal officers in any city, village or incorporated town, excepting the judges of city courts and of the municipal court in the city of Chicago.

At a hearing, held at the La Salle Hotel March 19 before the Dahlberg sub-committee of the House Committee on Elections, Mr. George C. Sikes appeared on behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the City Club in support of this bill. He urged particularly that instead of a party primary election and

then a regular election as at present, provision should be made for an election, corresponding to our present regular election, and then a second election for any office for which no candidate received a majority vote in the first election, the candidates in any second election being the two receiving the highest number of votes for the office in question at the first election. This would be practically the continental system.

At a meeting of a special committee of the City Club on this bill, April 10, Mr. Frank E. Moulton, President of the Club, and Mr. John M. Curran, Chairman of that Committee, were appointed to support this bill at the hearing on April 11 before the House Committee on Elections.

THE City Club Committee on City Planning sent, on March 13, to Representative Dahlberg, chairman of the House Committee on Municipalities, an endorsement of the zoning or districting bill (H. B. 220) prepared by Alderman Merriam and approved by the City Council. The purpose of the bill, which is an amendment to section I of article V of the Cities and Villages Act, is to permit cities to regulate the location of residential and industrial districts in the interest of the welfare and future development of communities. The main feature of the zone system is that residential districts shall be allowed immunity from objectionable surroundings just as industrial districts shall be allowed freedom of expansion in particular localities. In their letter of endorsement, the Committee on City Planning said: "This bill is designed to enable the cities of Illinois to exercise that direction of their physical development which is now recognized generally as desirable for the conservation and proper development of the economic and social interests of urban communities and which is actually being applied to an increasing degree by the progressive cities of the country."

PUBLIC hearings on the proposed Housing Code (S. B. 296) were held at the City Hall March 19 and 26 before a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. This bill, intro-

duced by Senator Kessinger, seeks to establish a general housing code for the incorporated cities of the state. Its provisions covering light, ventilation, sanitation, fire protection, etc., are based upon recent housing legislation enacted in other states. Private residences and two-family dwellings are exempted from the scope of the bill which applies only to dwellings occupied as residences by three or more families. At the public hearings the chief difference of opinion concerned the advisability of including Chicago under the proposed law along with the other cities of Illinois. It was pointed out that Chicago conditions and problems are so different from those of the other cities that legislation of this sort befitting the great city would not fit the small city. Yet it was urged on the other hand that the omission of Chicago from the operation of the bill might be challenged as an exemption violating the principle of uniformity in legislation. Efforts are being made to redraft the bill so that it will be satisfactory for Chicago as well as for the smaller cities.

SINCE the resolution submitting to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention has been passed by the State Legislature, an important matter for consideration now is the best method of presenting the issue to the people at the general election next year. Past experience in this and other states with the referendum has shown the practical difficulty of getting a majority of the people to vote upon propositions submitted to them for consideration. According to the conditions governing a statewide referendum dealing with constitutional measures, a majority of all votes cast at the election is required for its adoption. Such a referendum measure therefore faces the subtle danger of being defeated merely by the indifference of voters who may not be at all opposed to its passage. This has actually happened in a sufficient number of instances to cause many to lose faith in the value of the referendum as a means of obtaining a real expression of public opinion. While this inertia of voters has at times been partly overcome by an active campaign, this has usually been found ineffective in questions that do not in some immediate way affect the interests of the

people. In general it has been found necessary to employ some mechanical ballot device to secure a majority of the total number of votes.

When the question of calling a constitutional convention was submitted to the people of Ohio in 1910, the success of the referendum was promoted by a law passed by the State Legislature providing that any political party in the state might formally declare itself either in favor of or opposed to the calling of a constitutional convention, and that in case it did so, all straight party votes would automatically be counted either for or against that issue in accordance with the position taken by that party at its State Convention. Both of the large political parties were induced to favor the calling of a convention and to place their endorsement of the proposition in the party column, a procedure which had much to do with the success of the convention proposition in Ohio.

The City Club Committee on State Constitution on March 28 sent to Governor Lowden a resolution recommending legislation that would make possible in this state the adoption of the Ohio plan of including in the party columns the question of the constitutional convention when it is submitted to the voters for their decision. Precedent for such a method in Illinois is found in the fact that previous to the adoption of the official ballot act of 1891, the laws of this state made possible a direct party vote on referendum propositions.

THE City Club Committee on Fire Protection sent letters on March 12 to Senator Barbour, chairman of Senate Committee on Municipalities, and to Senators Hull and Glackin, Chicago members of the same committee, urging their support of Senate Bill 214, which amends the Cities and Villages Act so as to give the city power to regulate fire protection equipment, and require fire drills. Two years ago the city ordinance of Chicago requiring fire drills in schools, theaters and manufacturing establishments was declared invalid by the courts on the ground that the city had exceeded its power in passing such an ordinance. The chief purpose of the present bill is to give city councils authority to require such fire drills. The Chicago Bureau of

Fire Prevention, the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation and other organizations have endorsed the measure. Plans are now being made to incorporate the provisions of this bill in the zoning or districting bill (H. B. 220).

THE Committee on Vice Conditions of the City Club sent on March 12 letters to the Chicago members of the State Legislature endorsing the following measures:

Senate bill 247, introduced at the instance of the Committee of Fifteen of Chicago, amending the present Pandering Law so that it will more effectively include within its scope those who receive the profits of prostitution. This bill passed the Senate March 22.

Senate bill 281, designed to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks at public dancing and skating entertainments. This bill was drawn up by the Juvenile Protective Association after thorough investigation of the dance hall problem. It is their belief that the evils of the public dance hall are largely the result of the liquor consumed by its patrons. In response to a questionnaire sent out by the Association to the mayors of the larger cities of Illinois, thirty-eight replies were received, all of which declared against the sale of liquor in dance halls. Among the cities that now prohibit the sale of liquor in dance halls are Cleveland, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Buffalo, Minneapolis and Los Angeles. The Committee on Vice Conditions of the City Club in its endorsement of this bill said: "Investigation and experience indicate that much of the delinquency among young people is attributable to the association of liquor with these popular forms of amusement. The Committee on Vice Conditions unanimously endorses this measure, and believes that it will help to eliminate an important source of degeneration."

THE City Club Committee on Local and State Charities sent, on March 19th, to Senator Austin and Representative Hicks, letters endorsing Senate bill 171 and House bill 431 providing for the licensing and supervision of money lenders in Illinois. These measures

which are aimed against the "loan shark" evil stipulate that the interest on wage loans shall not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month. In order to engage in business as a loan broker, a license must be secured from the Auditor of Public Accounts at a cost of \$100 a year. If interest in excess of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month is charged, the loan contract becomes void. Violators of the proposed act may be punished by both a fine and imprisonment.

It is claimed that under present conditions some loan agencies charge from 100 to 500 per cent a year for their loans. If they are convicted of violating the present law, they merely lose their usurious interest and are not liable to imprisonment. For the past six years the Division of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation has been conducting a nation-wide fight against the "loan shark" evil. Some states have already enacted good small loans laws which have been effective in preventing

usurious rates of interest. The above bills now before the State Legislature have been endorsed by the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation as well as by most of the civic agencies in Chicago.

THE Baldwin School bill (S. B. 56) which passed the Senate February 20 was amended by the substitution of the Otis or Mueller bill (H. B. 252). It was then further amended by a provision requiring the consent of the City Council for the sale of school lands. In this form it passed the House March 29 by a vote of 110 to 11 and the Senate concurred April 5. The bill is now awaiting the governor's approval. It provides for a school board of 11 members—instead of 21 as at present—to be appointed by the mayor, gives the superintendent a tenure of office of four years, creates the office of business manager, and contains a teachers' tenure clause.

THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN ENGLAND

By William Hard

The tremendous industrial changes that have been taking place in England under war conditions are of double interest to us now since our nation has become an active participant in the war. A large number of City Club members availed themselves of the opportunity of hearing this subject discussed at the luncheon of the Club April 12 by Mr. William Hard, the well known writer and journalist. Mr. T. K. Webster, who presided at the meeting, said in his introductory remarks:

"Mr. Hard has been in England for the last six months to study at first hand some of the great questions that have come upon peaceful nations suddenly thrown into the war, and the new relations that have been established in society, between capital and labor, and between men who have heretofore had an entirely different outlook on life.

"It is inconceivable to me that the titled gentleman of England and the cab driver of London, who together have gone out into the trenches, who have gone out into the darkness and fought together in all kinds of weather, in rain

and in snow, who have gone together into the battle and have been wounded and have faced death, are going to look at life in exactly the same way as they did before.

"They have in London had to mobilize their own industries, each man doing what he can for the interest of all, and I am very doubtful if they are going to go back to the condition where the man with capital shall say, 'I am going to have it all and the laboring man is only going to have the part that is set aside for him.' I think that as a result of this war, this cataclysm of horror where men have had to decide questions by force we shall see that we must decide these great industrial questions in a different way than we have in the past.

"I have asked Mr. Hard to speak to us today about the great changes that have been taking place in England along industrial lines under the influence of war conditions. It is now my pleasure to introduce to you Mr. William Hard of New York."

"I must begin by asking you to believe that in what I shall say today I am not trying to be a philosopher in the field of economics or politics, but am merely reporting to you what I saw with my own eyes as a reporter in England for a period of about half a year. As the Chairman has suggested I am going to speak principally about labor, and I will begin first with the matter of the present prosperity of the mass of the working people of England.

Prosperity of Working People

"I was at first inclined to believe—and it had been suggested to me by a great many well-to-do people—that of course the working class was well off now because everybody was getting six and seven pounds a week in munitions factories. You know how easy it is for well-to-do people to find out that a locomotive engineer gets \$2,500 a year, and then be sure that the working class ought to be contented. When I looked into the matter I found that wages in England have not increased greatly in all occupations. In the ordinary industry if wages have gone up 25 or 30 per cent the men in that industry are pretty lucky. It is only in the immediate manufacture of munitions that wages have gone up to an extraordinary degree. On the other hand the cost of living has gone up very rapidly. At the time when I left England, on the first of February, 1917, it was probable that the cost of living had gone up at least 75 per cent since the war began. And yet there is less destitution than there was before the war. There are few real complaints about the present state of things in spite of the increased cost of living.

"The increase in wages alone does not explain the present prosperity of the working classes. A more adequate reason, which ought to convey a very considerable lesson to us, is that today in England there is virtually no unemployment. There are no slack seasons. A man is not on today and off tomorrow. There is virtually no casual labor in the mass as there used to be before the war. The result is that since everybody is earning something all the time, the mass of the population is very much better off than it was before, although the actual percentage of increase in wages has not

gone up by any means so fast as the increase in the cost of living.

Importance of Labor Party

"I wish now to speak more particularly about labor itself and the organization of labor. In the first place, it was very surprising to me as an American to discover the power of labor. I had not genuinely realized it before I went to England. I had regarded labor as being an element in the community which, while of importance, was still not of any essential importance politically.

"For instance, with regard to the relaxation of Trade Union rules and restrictions during the war, I had supposed that Parliament in its wisdom passed a law saying that all Trade Union restrictions on output and on employment should be abolished, and that thereupon they were abolished. I soon found that that way of doing things is not operative in England. The way it was done was quite different.

"In the first place, Mr. Lloyd-George and other members of the Government called in the representatives of labor and said, 'We think it is highly desirable that you should relax your restrictions on output and employment during the war. Now will you do it?' 'Well,' they said, 'We think we will not, because if we do so we shall lay ourselves open to our employers. We cannot agree to do that, unless, of course, certain compensations are made to us. We want it agreed that our right to have all these restrictions shall be given back to us absolutely intact at the end of the war. We want also a limitation on the profits made by all persons in whose factories we work.' The government agreed to these conditions and so a bargain was struck some considerable time before the Munitions Act was passed. In other words, the consent of labor was obtained before this legislation was enacted.

"But this does not tell the whole story. I was in a ship yard on the Clyde where a very considerable number of destroyers were being built—in fact at that time the whole river Clyde seemed to me to be nothing but two rows of destroyers. I had not supposed that so many destroyers could be needed in any navy, even the British Navy. The young engineer who took me about this yard said: 'Now

I have to see my local union this afternoon with regard to a plan for the introduction of women to do things such as putting the blades into turbines.' 'Well,' I said, 'but that has been settled by Parliament.' 'Oh, of course,' he replied, 'it has been settled by Parliament, but what difference does that make to the union in my shop?' 'But,' I continued 'it has been settled by the Engineers' Union itself, which has come to an agreement about the matter.' He said, 'Yes, but what difference does it make to the local union in my shop what has been settled by the national union? I have to deal with these men, and I have to make a dicker with them this afternoon.' That was very illuminating to me, and I noticed it in a great many other places. Every individual British working man in his union wants to have his say about just how this national policy is going to be carried out in his shop.

Working Class Not Servile

"I had been taught to believe that the working class of England was a very servile class. I soon began to see that in so far as it understands its rights it is a most truculent, turbulent and ungovernable working class. There were three stages in getting these men to agree to surrender their restrictions: First, convincing their national union; second, getting a law through Parliament, and third, making an arrangement, point by point, with the local union in each particular shop.

"I soon saw then why it was necessary that these persons should be represented in Parliament. I soon saw why it was clear that the war never could have been conducted successfully without their consent and without their loyal co-operation.

Union Restrictions Abolished

"Now I want to indicate the kind of arrangement that was actually made. Under the Munitions Act the trade union restrictions all go. Any person who attempts to put into practice a trade union restriction, or any person who comes habitually late to work in the morning, or any person who is intoxicated in the course of his work is immediately taken off and tried before a new local court

called the Munitions Tribunal. Now this Munitions Tribunal seemed to me to be a very significant institution.

"It is not an ordinary court. It is not presided over by regular law judges. It is what might be called an Industrial Court. It consists of an employer and a trade union leader named from the district, and of a third person named directly by the Government. These three persons sit and hear the cases brought before them with regard to the violation of the Munitions Act. From them there is an appeal to a Central Munitions Tribunal at London.

"Now there have been some curious consequences of the Munitions Act with regard to restrictions. For instance, there was a factory which had a rule to the effect that it would never employ a union man. It would employ only non-union men. And it had run as a non-union place for a great many years. One morning a workingman showed up and asked for employment. They said, 'Are you a union man?' He said, 'Yes, I am.' They said, 'Well, you cannot be employed in this place because we do not take union men.' He was very indignant and said, 'Well, but look here, all restrictions on employment have been removed by the Munitions Act.' 'Well,' they said, 'you cannot work here.' Thereupon he took his case to the Munitions Tribunal and finally up to the Central Munitions Tribunal at London, which decided that since all restrictions on employment are removed by the act, it must be considered a restriction on employment to refuse to employ a union man, and therefore this man must be employed.

"A further result, or a possible further result, is one of a questionable kind, perhaps. A friend of mine in England has a factory in which he makes telegraph instruments for the Government. He has a rule to the effect that he will not employ anybody who is a drinking man. A man applied for employment about three months ago, and they said to him, 'Do you drink?' He said, 'All the time.' They said, 'Well, you won't do for us.' 'Well,' he said, 'but I am a perfectly competent working man. I can make telegraph instruments along with any telegraph instrument maker in the world. Now in working hours I am just as

good a working man as you can find, and under the Munitions Act all the restrictions on employment are removed.' He is now beginning a case in order to find out whether this weakening of the power of England by refusing employment to men who drink ale is going to be allowed to continue.

Leaving Certificate Necessary

"These men who are working in munitions factories, by the way, cannot leave their employment without a leaving certificate. That is felt by many people to be a very great hardship, and has been more criticised than any other arrangement made in England. The rule is that if you hire a new employee he must have a leaving certificate from the man with whom he was previously employed, or he must have been out of work for six weeks. That is the point that is criticised as industrial slavery by the opponents of the Munitions Act.

"But the man has one further recourse. If he is not given wages which are the wages of the district, or if he is treated by his employer or his employer's foreman in a cruel or tyrannical manner—if his conditions of employment, in other words, are not normal and are not sound, he may appeal to the Munitions Tribunal, and the Munitions Tribunal may give him a leaving certificate even after it has been refused by his employer.

Attitude of Labor Toward War

"When I attended the Conference of the Labor Party at Manchester, I was interested to see the attitude taken by this party towards the war at the present time, because there has been a general feeling on the part of some people that the Labor Party was deeply dissatisfied with the conduct of the war, and was very largely out of sympathy with the continuation of the war. I do not mean in any way to doubt the sincerity of the persons who have disseminated this idea. I can only say that it seemed to me as plain as possible, looking at it with the eyes of a reporter, that the dominant sense of the Labor Party, as indicated in the Conference at Manchester, was profoundly in favor of the Government in its policy of continuing the war all the way through to the

end. Their feeling seemed to be that the war must be continued until Germany had been defeated—not in any modern sense of 'peace without victory,' but defeated in the soundest and most old-fashioned sense of the word.

"I think it will be found in practice that it is very difficult to go into a fight with another man with the intention of thrashing him up to a given psychological point. This is not a fight with gloves for ten rounds to be decided by a referee on points. There is no referee and nobody to count the points. These people are in the war, and it is impossible for them, having been in it for this length of time, to have any idea about the conclusion of it, except that one side has got to be on top and the other side has got to be underneath. Now the German will or the Allied will has to have its way. I feel perfectly convinced that the overwhelming majority of the people in the Labor Party in the Conference at Manchester had precisely that view of it.

"Now there were some persons who did not, and for those persons I say that I have the profoundest personal respect. There were men like J. Ramsey McDonald, men like Philip Snowden, who decidedly took the other position, but they were found to be in a very small minority. Of course, the reason why it is so easy to think that they are very strong is that they were by far the acutest and noisiest talkers in the Conference.

"On the first day of the Labor Conference the talk and the applause made me think that the war was going to be soundly defeated, but when the vote was taken the vote was something like 1,800,000 for the war and something like 300,000 against the war. And I ought not even to call it 'against the war,' because the vote was taken on this proposition: 'Do we or do we not support Mr. Henderson, who is our leader, in going into the present government?' And that government was denounced from every possible angle. It was denounced because it contained that perfidious person, Lloyd-George; it was denounced because it contained Lord Davenport, who, when he was the head of the London Board of Trade, brutally broke up the London dock strike. It was denounced because it contained Lord Milner, who represents all that is most aristocratic in the aris-

ocracy of England. Nobody can be more absolutely aristocratic than he. And yet Mr. Henderson was side by side with him. The question was: Now do we approve of Mr. Henderson's being in that government? And on that point their approval was given by a vote of about six to one.

Labor's Insistence on Justice

"Now there was one incident at that conference, nevertheless, which showed the real temper of the Labor Party and revealed its determination not to be the mere tool of the Government. I do not say for a minute—and I am glad I do not have to say—that the labor element in England has simply gone and subordinated the whole future interests of the working class to the immediate needs either of the Government or of its own country. It stands out for certain ideas continuously even during the war.

"The incident I am going to speak of seemed to me to show quite clearly one aspect of the whole struggle in England at the present time. One morning quite suddenly a man arose to speak from the floor. He was greeted with enormous applause. People began to pass his name about and I soon learned that he was Kirkwood, a man who had been deported from the Glasgow district by the order of the Government in order to break a certain strike on the Clyde. When the applause had subsided Mr. Kirkwood made his speech.

He said that he had been a local secretary in the Engineers' Union. The firm for which he worked had refused to allow him to discharge his duties as shop steward and thereupon he had ceased to work for the firm. After he left, his fellows started a strike, contrary to the law of the Munitions Act and he did his best to make the strike successful. The Government retaliated by seizing him and deporting him from the Glasgow district. Without even the formality of a trial he had been separated from his wife and five children and during his enforced absence of about five months his wife and his children had received only six or seven pounds from the Government for their support. He had come to the Conference to state his case to the Labor Party, and when the Conference was over his intention was

not to return to the place to which he was deported, but to return to Glasgow and there go to work or go to jail.

"He was a man who looked like a real working man. He looked as if he could run a lathe. He made a very favorable impression and the Conference was all on his side. And then there came to be shouts for Henderson.

"Henderson, a member of the War Cabinet, sat on the platform listening to Kirkwood's accusations that he had betrayed the working class. I must say that Mr. Henderson looked very much distressed. Everybody was shouting his name and it was perfectly clear that he was not expected to be able to give an altogether satisfactory account of himself.

Mr. Henderson's Defense

"At last he rose to speak, and he made a defense, which, while it was not satisfactory to everybody, was a very much better defense than had been expected. He said that he had heard, as a member of the Cabinet, that there were certain persons discontented on the Clyde. This discontent had spread quite rapidly, apparently. In order to find out the source of the trouble he and Lloyd-George and the national head of the Engineers' Union went to Glasgow and called the discontented men in to give their complaint. The first thing Mr. Kirkwood did when he came into the room was to turn to Mr. Lloyd-George and repudiate both the labor adviser in the cabinet and the head of his own national union. Nevertheless the hearing was continued and then a public meeting was arranged for at which all complaints could be put in. At this public meeting the men who had complaints spoke at length. When the men on the other side arose to speak it was impossible for them to proceed and impossible for Mr. Lloyd-George to make any remarks because the men who had made the local complaints got up on chairs and did all the talking at the top of their voices. It was therefore impossible to find out just what the situation was in Glasgow. They would not allow the other side to have anything to say about it. They struck against the advice of the labor adviser as well as against the advice of their own national union. The strike was the work of a very small group of local persons who were de-

terminated not to do another stroke of work until the engineering industry had been handed over to the hands of the working people to be run as a Socialist industry.

"Now it was clear from what Mr. Henderson said that the strike was the work of a very small group of extremely radical men and that it did not have the consent of the trade union movement as a whole. But Mr. Henderson made one great mistake. At the end of his speech he said, 'I have been criticised today, but I ask that the labor conference appoint a committee of its own members to sit in judgment on the controversy between Mr. Kirkwood and me, and the decision by that committee, no matter what it may be, no matter whether or not it involves my elimination from the party, I will loyally accept. And do not judge me here this minute, because I claim the right of every free born Englishman—the right to a trial.'

"The audience listened to that with great delight, and was considerably stunned and surprised by it, until suddenly somebody said, 'But Kirkwood did not get a trial.' Immediately the whole house was in an uproar. There was the point after all. Kirkwood did not get a trial.

"That afternoon the conference met again and went into the whole matter to its final stage. They said: 'It may have been all right to deport Mr. Kirkwood, but he was not tried before he was deported, and we therefore instruct the secretary of the Conference to send a telegram to Mr. Lloyd-George demanding that Mr. Kirkwood be tried before he is punished.'

"I do not know—because I left England very shortly afterwards—whether Mr. Kirkwood has had his trial yet or not. The significant thing is that this as well as many other incidents that happened during that conference showed that the intention of the Labor Party is not merely to support the war, but also to see to it that even during the war, so far as possible, and after the war, the rights of labor and the increase of the power of labor shall be attained by every means possible open to the Labor Party.

"So then one comes to the question: Granted that the Labor Party is in favor

of the war, and granted that the Labor Party is determined to promote the interests of labor, nevertheless in just what way are those interests going to be promoted? Along just what route will labor proceed?

State Socialism or Imperialism

"Now I had heard it said very frequently that if one said that England was going toward State Socialism one was stating the whole truth. I came to the conclusion that that would be a very inadequate and probably misleading way of saying what was happening in England.

"Now there is a certain tendency towards State Socialism, and there is also in the ranks of labor a very strong tendency towards what used to be called Imperialism. For instance a good many labor leaders belong to what is called the British Empire's Workers' League. Conspicuous among them are men like Mr. Hodge of the smelters. They have come to believe that it is necessary that British industry should protect itself by all proper means against German industry—against all foreign industry for that matter, but in particular against German industry. A good many of these labor people are going to be for a tariff when the war is over. They will not be for a tariff with the same zeal with which certain employers are in favor of it, but there is going to be a very considerable number of them tariff people. They have come to think that workers and employers should together see to it that each British industry thrives and is strong.

"Now that is a relatively new view in the ranks of labor in England. Today almost one-quarter of the men in Parliament who belong to the Labor Party have become members of the British Empire's Workers' League.

"At first that seemed to me to be what might be called imperialism and high-tariffism pure and simple. But there was something more in it than that. I noticed that there was very slight demand among working people for the extension of actual ownership by the state, except in things like railways and mines. What they are thinking of after the war is not so much ownership by the state as self-government inside each industry to

the end that each industry—employers and employees together—may more or less stand on its own feet and receive from the state a certain amount of regulation and a certain amount of help. But there is no very strong demand that the state should go any further than that.

"It seemed to me clear that the Englishman at the bottom of his heart is not genuinely a state socialist. The Fabians are state socialists, but the average Englishman does not like the state.

Independence Considered Vital

"His tendency is towards syndicalism rather than towards socialism, because syndicalism does more to preserve the independence of each industry and the independence of each local union and the independence of each man in the local union, so that there is more scope for individual initiative than there is under a plan which puts everything in the control of the government.

"Now from the labor side there is a very strong movement, it seemed to me, in that direction. I should say that today in England the trade union movement had got beyond the place, on the whole, where its great weight was purely on the questions of hours and wages and other working conditions. I was astonished at the frequency with which one heard the word 'control.'

"The control of industry is the thing that they are thinking about to an infinitely greater extent than we are thinking about it over here. It is not enough that the men should have the right wages, not enough that the men should have the right hours, not enough that they should have the right sanitary conditions. It is necessary, as they look at it, that they should have more control, and they think of control even in those industries which are actually owned by the public.

"Now it would be easy to exaggerate the speed with which that sort of thing is going on, but it seemed to me that symptoms of it were most clearly in evidence. If I were going to say what is going to happen to the average British industry after the war, so far as labor is concerned—I would not say that, for instance, the steel industry is going to be made into a state industry. I don't think that is going to happen and I will

illustrate why I do not think it is going to happen by what was said to me by Mr. Fisher, who was recently made Minister of Education.

State Control of Education

"Mr. Fisher was the first educator in England to become Minister of Education. There had been plenty of Ministers of Education, but never before had there been one who was an educator. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, and when he was brought in as Minister of Education, everybody said, 'Now we are going to have the state do something about education, and make it possible for us to get the engineers that are so sorely needed.'

"It was a strong temptation, doubtless, to Mr. Fisher, to start in and just make a state educational system. I saw him within a few days after he became Minister of Education and I said, 'Now how are you going to get these engineers?' He replied, 'Well, the one thing I am sure of is this, that while we have got to get these engineers, we must not by any means put our technical university education under the control of the state in the way in which Napoleon planned to do it through the College of France or in the way in which Germany has been able to do it through its system of state universities. We must not make it possible for the state, sitting in London, to make up its mind that it will produce a certain type of mind in England and then go ahead and produce that type of mind universally. If England has any value in the world it is that it has produced a great variety of minds; that England has hundreds and even thousands of different sorts of minds—queer ones, strange ones, weird ones—but it has never been one type, and if we ever made it one type, which we would if we put the state in perfect control, we shall have been defeated by Germany.'

Labor Wants to Keep Control

"Now I am convinced that they have that same feeling with regard to industry. In a general way there seems to be a tendency to work out the regulation of industry in some such fashion as this:

"In every factory there shall be a committee or council of the Board of Direct-

ors of the employees and the Board of Directors of the employers; in every district such as the Clyde district a district board of employers and a district board of employees, not sitting once a year to determine wages, but sitting continuously for the general management of the business of the industry as a whole. And at London again there will be two boards, a national board of employers and a national board of employees for that industry, sitting continuously, determining as well as they can, such matters as standards of wages and standards of hours, and presenting from time to time to Parliament their views with regard to what the relations between the nation and that industry should be.

"Now that is far, indeed, from being state socialism. That is a thing which seems to me likely to come because it fits in so thoroughly with the general historic temperament of the English people.

Labor Conditions Improved by War

"And it seemed to me therefore—and I will make this one point in conclusion—that one could say most definitely, in spite of the opinions held to the contrary by a great many well-meaning despondent people, that the war, instead of crushing out industrial proletarian progress in England, has, to the contrary, very much stimulated it. A considerable number of working people are a little bit despondent because they have had to give up all these restrictions, but the fact is that they have the employers by the throat. The employers have promised, the government has promised, that all these restrictions are to be given back at the end of the war.

"Now Parliament is going to do its best to fulfill its pledge to the labor people and give them back their restrictions, and they know it. But then comes in this thing. If the employers have to give those restrictions back to the labor people they cannot conduct their factories with the efficiency with which they

have been conducting them during the war. They would do almost anything rather than put those restrictions back into force, and yet they have got to put them back into force unless they are able to offer the working people an equivalent for them. Now the labor people at the present time are not telling the employers what that equivalent is, and very properly. They are not foolish about it.

"I said to Mr. Henderson one day: 'It is all very well to say that you are going to get those restrictions back, but you know if you get them back it will be a very bad thing for the productivity of England, and you know that you want to increase the productivity of England.' 'Well,' he said, 'the fact is that those restrictions are, so to speak, our Belgium. Now our enemies have taken our Belgium and so we are in the position of the Allies. We will not enter into peace negotiations until we get restitution, reparation and guarantees.'

"Now it was a perfect analogy. The labor people are not saying yet just what they will take as an equivalent, but the employing class has got its choice now. They can either give back the restrictions as they were before the war, which they do not want to do and cannot do, or else they have got to give the trades unions an equivalent, and the only sort of equivalent the trades unions will ever take, in my judgment, is an equivalent which advances to a very considerable degree the control which the working class wants over the instruments of production.

"When we consider how so many things have been working together in this war to produce a situation out of which may develop a better realization of the ideals of industrial government during the next ten years than would otherwise have been possible for several generations, one begins to think that there are a great many things about this war which are almost a mysterious dispensation of providence as a merciful compensation for all of the horrors of this terrible conflict."



SHALL MILITARY TRAINING BE GIVEN OUR YOUTH?

By Clark W. Hetherington

The movement during the past year to introduce military training into our public schools has attracted a great deal of public attention. The Wyoming plan of military training for high school boys, which was carried out successfully in the schools of Cheyenne by Lieutenant E. L. Steever, has spread into other states and has aroused both enthusiasm and opposition. Some denounce this effort to substitute military training for the games of the playground. Others point out the disciplinary value of such training during the critical years of adolescence. The arguments against military training for boys were ably presented to members of the City Club at luncheon March 25th, by Clark W. Hetherington, Professor of Physical Education and Recreation, University of Wisconsin. His address was as follows:

"Military service requires of a citizen physical strength, skill in the manual of arms, knowledge of camp hygiene, and character discipline. What relationship have these requirements to the training of youth and his future functions as a citizen, and as a soldier?"

The Physical Requirement

"The soldier must have vitality and nervous vigor to stand the strain of military life. On this point our national statistics are not reassuring. Out of the applicants for enlistment in the United States Marine Corps, nearly 90% were rejected as unfit for service. The rejections of applicants for the army, according to the Adjutant General's report for 1916, were approximately 80%.

"Major Pierce quotes a 'high military authority' at Plattsburgh last summer as saying that the sight of 3,200 college 'men stripped for work was pathetic.' College directors of physical education know only too well the truth of that sentiment. University of Wisconsin statistics show that over 50% of the freshmen are not physically fit to engage in vigorous athletic activities.

"Some of us who have been dealing with vitality problems in the practical

laboratory of development and health—the gymnasium, athletic field, and playground—have been noticing for years that an unusual number of men past 45 years of age were breaking down, and we fixed the cause, though we could not prove our point. Now health organizations and insurance companies are coming forward with statistics, which show that while there has been a striking decrease in deaths from contagious diseases in recent years, there has been a startling increase in deaths from degenerative organic diseases. The Life Extension Institute presents statistics showing that while typhoid fever has decreased 5%, tuberculosis, 43%; pneumonia, 41%; diseases of the nervous system have increased, 30%; heart disease, 38%; kidney and urinary diseases, 43%; liver and digestive diseases, 23%. Moreover, the increase in deaths from degenerative diseases is reaching down the age scale into early childhood.

Cause of Physical Deterioration

"What is the cause of this deterioration? Some say bad heredity, but the investigations of biologists have shown that most of this slump is in stock with no hereditary taint. Some lay it to unfavorable hygienic conditions, over-eating, drinking, nervous strain, and the results of infectious diseases. No doubt these influences are important, but they were here before the increase in organic diseases began, and they do not touch all classes subject to the increases.

"The dominating and outstanding cause, the one to which all others are but contributing causes, and the one more essentially characteristic of our age than any other, because it affects practically all classes at all age periods, is *the decrease in outdoor life and vigorous muscular activity.*

"Compare our mode of living today with that of 1860 (the time when modern machinery began to come into popular use) in its effect on vigorous activities, and you will see ample cause for our national physical condition. Since 1860 our whole active life has

come to be dominated by the machine. It has stripped the old home of its industrial activities, thus at once changing the home in size, function, and opportunities for work and play, and created our huge industrial centers, with their cramping influences on outdoor activities. In vast numbers, industrial workers have been reduced to mere electric button pushers. Farm work has been changed from exhausting toil to a mechanic's job. Electric cars, elevators, and automobiles have contracted the functions of our legs to merely moving us from one machine to another. Walking is now a recreative art fostered under the stimulus of great organizations like the Prairie Club of Chicago, or the Sierra Club of California. In a word, machines are doing our work, not our muscles.

"Note that this decrease in vigorous muscular activity among adults directly parallels the rise of organic diseases.

Decline of Outdoor Play

"Furthermore, not only have the social changes incident to the rise of present-day industrialism reduced adult muscular activity, but, worse yet, they have inhibited the vigorous outdoor physical play of millions of children. This play is vastly more important in the life of the child today than ever before because the opportunities for vigorous work with parents disappeared with home manufacture, the rise of highly specialized labor, and the greater demands of the school. Yet recreational surveys in many cities and rural districts show that over 44% of children are 'loafing' during their play time. 'The play of children has broken down; we must teach them how to play,' has been one of the slogans of the playground movement since its organized beginning in 1906.

"Note again that this decrease in the vigorous outdoor play of children has directly paralleled the increase during recent years of degenerative organic diseases among children.

Endurance Through Activity

"Years of observation and experiment in the gymnasium and on the athletic field, the noting of the results of physical training during youth, the results of

the lack of such training and the results in the middle-age and late-age periods of the competition between those who have had, and those who have not had, a vigorous physical life during childhood and youth, have convinced us that in this training lies the source of developed power to stand this wear and tear of strenuous life effort, and that the lack of it is a source of weakness. Why is this? Because activity is the sole means of development of any power. It is the sole means of education. Paderewski did not develop his skill by holding his hands in his pockets and whistling. Edison did not gain his world fame by sleeping. Gotch did not become master of the mat by playing cards and smoking cigarettes. The power developed along any line, physical or mental, depends upon the intensity and duration of the exercise of that power throughout many years.

"Apply this principle to the development of the heart as an example of one vital organ. The heart grows, and we can draw a curve to picture this growth by age periods. The heart also develops under the stimulus, and only under the stimulus, of exercise that heightens its functional activity. This development is well illustrated in the training of a distance runner. The runner is given a certain distance to run at a given speed each day. This is repeated, according to the runner's condition, day after day, frequently for many weeks and many years. The heart is exercised. The result is the development of a heart power which enables the runner to accomplish feats in running not possible to anyone of equal native capacity who has not exercised his heart in the same way. We have no direct volitional control over the heart, so we do not exercise it as we do the arm or leg muscles, which is a point of confusion for the layman. The heart, like all the vital organs, is exercised indirectly by making it function more rapidly in supplying a larger amount of blood to the muscles which are actually doing the running. The child begins this process of 'training' in its spontaneous play early in life, and continues it through youth. The process in the development of the respiratory function, the heat regulating function and the digestive and eliminating functions is

similar. Vigorous games and athletic activities are developers of organic power: the nutritive power to stand the wear and tear of strenuous living.

Development of Nervous System

"Apply the principle again to the development of the nervous system. Every group of muscles has a nervous center which controls it. There are nervous centers which control the large, bulky muscles of the trunk, the shoulder and upper arm, and the hip and thigh, and there are nervous centers which control the fine muscles of the fingers, the toes, the tongue, or the eye. The nervous centers controlling the large bulky muscles were made to carry the burdens of life, not the nervous centers controlling the fine muscles. If you will attempt to walk a short distance on the toes, or on the hands, or in any way carry the weight of the body on the fingers, you will see that these muscles and nervous centers were not made for burdensome work. They evolved to make the fine adjustments. *Yet our civilization is throwing the burden of all activity on the finer muscles and the nervous centers controlling them. The big muscles and related nervous centers have relatively little use except in play and organized recreation, and here is the crux of the physical problem of civilization.*

"It is frequently said that we do not need to develop large muscles: our civilization does not require such development. This is true if we have in mind hurling a spear, wielding an axe, or swinging a scythe. But muscular development is a symbol—a symbol of nervous development and power. The nervous center controlling a muscle can be developed only through the exercise of the muscle. A thorough development of the large muscles of the trunk and limbs in natural activities causes a full development of the nervous centers controlling these muscles. This is the source of strength and skill—vastly more important, *it is the source of developed nervous vitality and staying power.* It gives control of latent inherited nervous resources for life functions. Thoroughly developed, the nervous centers controlling the large muscles carry with ease the wear and tear of life; they support the burden on the fine muscle centers.

With the advance of years, the muscle tissues shrink in size, but the nervous centers developed during youth retain their functional power. Men having this nervous development are those who work intensely clear on into old age.

"Well developed vital organs and nervous centers are sources of power. Undeveloped organs or nervous centers are sources of weakness, subject to disease and apt to break under the strain of modern life. The time for this development is childhood and youth. It cannot be gained after maturity, and it cannot be gained by any one year or group of years, either in childhood or youth. No process of training can give the boy of eight the development possible to a boy of eighteen. And no training will give the boy of eighteen the development that should naturally be his if the training of previous years has been neglected. There is a growth order in the child which must be observed, and there is a normal development possible for each age period of child life. The growth order must be followed and the development secured. Not only does development require activity at each age period, but it requires huge amounts of this activity, especially during late childhood and the early adolescent years.

Military Training for Boys

"Does military training give this vital vigor and nervous power? The verdict of experience and science is, No! *The most military nations of Europe do not use military training during the years of youth.* They depend upon physical training to prepare boys for the real military training of the military age. Australia and Japan alone have organized military drill in the secondary schools. France tried it and discarded it. Both West Point and Annapolis depend upon physical training, not upon their military drill, for physical development. The military commission of Massachusetts pronounced against military drill, and recommended physical training. The military commission of New York, far from organizing military drill in the schools, has established compulsory physical training. Leading educators are almost unanimous in condemning military training in the schools. Over and over again physical educators have

denied that there is any real physical training value in military drill, and agree that drill with a gun before eighteen years of age is frequently very harmful. The movements are few in number, cramped, and onesided. They are devised for military purposes, not physical development. Even among adults in the regular army a gymnastic setting up drill is used. Of course the real military training after 18-20 years of age, with its long hours of tramping, war tactics and work, has a physical value, but no such time or effort can or should be expended by boys.

Games Better for Youth

"In a word, experience has shown that military training is the poorest kind of physical training, and that *there is no gain in vital vigor, strength, or skill that is not given in a vastly higher degree in the gymnastics, games, and athletics natural to youth.* The vitality and skill required by the soldier are developed best, not by a military training in youth, but by a pre-military physical training. And this applies equally to the other duties of citizenship. In proportion as we organize a universal physical training that will give the physical development necessary for the functions of a soldier, so will we have a physical preparation for the wear and tear of our modern industrial and civic life. It is as important for the one as for the other, and justifies itself for civil life even though we never produce a soldier.

The Character Equipment

"Consider now the last item in the requirements of a soldier—character training. The soldier must be disciplined. There are two kinds of character disciplining: the discipline of obedience, and the discipline of thoughtful judgment. Each becomes habitual through training.

"Obedience is the essence of military discipline. Any army without an organization under absolute authority is a mob, not an army. A disciplined soldier obeys, though he knows it means certain death. Hence when military training—usually just military drill—is suggested for boys, it is natural for men who come in contact with the prevalent disobedience and scatter-brain irresponsibility,

carelessness, indifference, and even dishonesty, of youth, to nod approval: 'Yes, that's the thing; it will make men of them.'

"But does this military discipline during youth prepare for the functions of adult military life? And does it develop character qualities that will function in adult civil life?

"If military training or drill were the best means of disciplining youth for the functions of adult military life, we may be very sure that the great military nations of Europe would have used it. But they have not. Experience in Boston has shown that military training during youth not only fails to function in the real serious military service of the adult, but it has been unfavorable to enlistment in times of national need.

Military Training and Character

"As to the development of character traits that will function in civil life, experience and science have shown that military training does not thus function generally, and in so far as it does, it often results disastrously. The unruly behavior of the marine on shore leave, and the soldier off duty, is familiar to everyone. The discipline of obedience somehow does not function when these men are free from the domination of official orders. The late General Funston when asked to release the Wisconsin militia on the Mexican border, that they might return home alone, refused, stating that many years of experience had proven to him that soldiers could not be thus released from discipline without serious consequences in behavior. Where, then, are the character results of military training?

"Again, military advocates talk much of the mental training in attention, alertness, promptness, etc., but if there is anything that modern psychology has proven, it is that we can expect from the mental activity, attention and obedience developed by military drill only the mental activity, attention and obedience required in mechanical responses to commands. The training does not function in the school, or in business, or in social life, except as individuals are organized in routine responses to command. It does not give the power for self-con-

trol, self-initiation, or thoughtful judgment in the many situations of civil life.

Wrong Kind of Obedience

"Even when it does function in civil life, it is bad, because democracy cannot exist on a basis of wooden-headed obedience to any man or organization. What a democracy must have in its citizens is a *thinking obedience*—a capacity to respond or behave in civic strife according to principles or ideals. We have had our political bosses with the worst results in our public life. Insofar as we have bosses and citizens obeying bosses, our democracy is rotten.

"You obey the traffic policeman, not because of the discipline of obedience to which you have been subjected, but because you appreciate the traffic law and order which the policeman represents. In labor strikes the discipline of obedience responds to the mob, or the leader; the discipline of thoughtful judgment responds to principles of right or law and order. In a referendum on whisky, the discipline of obedience responds to a boss; the discipline of thoughtful judgment responds to ideals of social welfare. Of course the discipline of thoughtful judgment includes the capacity for obedience to authority; but the discipline of obedience does not include the capacity for self-control according to thoughtful judgments.

"Soldiering is only one of several civic duties of the citizen in a democracy. And, while the discipline of obedience suffices for the soldier, the discipline required for civil life is vastly broader. If youth is trained for civil life, the special training of obedience required for the soldier can be gained in a few months after reaching the military age, approximately the nineteenth or twentieth year. But the broader training for civil life can be gained only through the long years of youth, and the poorest substitute for it is military training. Youth is the time to organize the broader character training that functions in civil life. It can be developed at no other time. By twenty years of age the foundations of character are fixed.

Character Training Necessary

"How can this broader character training for civil life be secured? It

can be gained only by discipline in activities that evoke many character responses.

"A great movement is on to develop a system of character discipline or moral education in the schools. Many plans and special methods are advocated, such as school room discipline, the use of literature and history, story-telling, discussions of moral problems. All these are valuable, but they are either narrow in influence, relatively advanced, or not applicable to the masses of children or youth. School room discipline is pussy-footed discipline, and will not make men of boys, or women of girls, because it lacks the self-impelling free expression of instinct and emotion. Story-telling, history, and literature give information and ideals that *may* guide habits, but basic habits are formed in more fundamental activities.

"The elements in character discipline are the same today as they have been since the beginning of civilization. On the one side there is the child or youth impelled to activities which express his natural impulsive tendencies, his dynamic energy, and his will to do; on the other side, there is the guiding interest of parents or some conscientious leader with standards of behavior which may be realized in habits and ideals in the child's experience.

Organized Play Develops Character

"The youth's energies and interests are expressed nowhere more completely than in games and athletics. Since the elimination of the home industries they have become profoundly important. Every athletic activity involves a social relationship inasmuch as it is a contest between individuals or groups; thus it exercises intensely the social instincts and emotions. It is a fighting situation involving defeat or victory; thus it exercises the aggressive and fighting instincts. The individual's pride is at stake, indicated by depression or elation. Thus in games and athletics are exercised all the instincts and emotions involved in social strife—all the feeling elements involved in a political or civic or religious struggle. The leading of these instinct tendencies as expressed in play involves a real character discipline. This leading

we find best expressed today in boys' and girls' clubs, in Boy Scouts' and Camp Fire Girls' organizations, in supervised playground activities, and in the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations. We will have an effective character training for citizenship with the elements necessary for reaching all the children of the nation *when we deliberately organize the spontaneous life of all children and youth, under trained leaders as the laboratory foundation of the system.* The intellectual methods of moral instruction will then function to give the higher controls.

"To put the present situation negatively, practically all the bad habits or social vices known to childhood or youth are the result of neglected leadership of play. We shall get character results for the masses when we organize to remove this neglect completely. To put the significance of trained leadership in this connection radically: *Given a thousand boys with such leadership as can be selected today in control from the sixth to the nineteenth year of age, and it is perfectly possible for these boys to be brought up in a city slum with a brothel or a saloon every other door, and these institutions be without patronage or influence so far as these boys are concerned.*

"Leadership of the spontaneous active life of youth is the means of attaining a universal character discipline that will function in every phase of civil life as well as military service. It is nothing more than earnest parents have been doing since the beginning of time, and the source of all well-trained men. But new social conditions demand that it have public educational organization. With this conception, a Mott or a Hoover, having the technical skill with youth and the opportunity could transform the moral character of Chicago or San Francisco in a single generation.

"If we had such a moral discipline organized, no one need worry about moral preparedness for war. It would be as it is now among the representative college men and athletes, a matter of a few months special discipline to convert them into the best of soldiers.

Military Men as Leaders

"In this connection it is necessary to say a word about the leadership of military men. Military men as a class are of the same stock as other professional classes. They are as skilled in their profession if not more so, and as honorable as doctors, lawyers, or college professors. We must admire their devotion to the cause of military preparedness, even to the extreme of establishing military training in the elementary schools. It indicates a fine, though mistaken, sense of duty. But just because they are trained in the discipline of obedience, and trained to enforce the discipline of obedience, they are as a class not fitted for the leadership of youth. Any program for youth that does not recognize and use a thinking obedience is not educational, and it has no place in our public educational system. For this reason, and because they are trained for other duties than the skilled leadership of youth, military men, as a rule and especially non-commissioned officers, should not be placed in charge of youth below the college or military age.

"The only danger of militarism in this country is through the loss of balance between the influence of the military class and other classes of our society. Clerical domination in the past produced black chapters in the history of the church. Germany and the world are reaping the whirlwind from the domination of a military caste. We have been dominated by politicians and political bosses, and one of the movements of the last ten years has been to curb the power of our so-called industrial captains. The too great influence of any class in society, leads to social disease. The danger of militarism in this country will come when the military class gains too great a control of the agencies that develop public opinion. The most dangerous point of advantage for the development of a military caste would be required military training in our public schools.

"Whatever the military establishment set up involving adult service—perhaps universal service—we must have an educational preparation for all the functions of citizenship in a democracy free during youth from the military slant."



UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE AND THE CHAMBERLAIN BILL

By George Clarke Cox.

With the entrance of our nation into the European war, the question of universal military training ceases to be an issue of theoretical or academic interest. It is now imperative that our government work out at once a system of military training and service that will provide adequate defense in this time of national emergency. Many believe that the volunteer system upon which we have preferred to rely is utterly inadequate to meet the demands of modern warfare. On the other hand many feel that universal military training is subversive of the ideals of liberty upon which our nation has been founded. The claims of universal service were ably presented by Dr. George C. Cox of New York to members of the City Club in the Lounge, Saturday afternoon, April 7th. Dr. Cox, who is assistant editor of the National Service Magazine, has been a lecturer on philosophy at Harvard and assistant professor of philosophy at Dartmouth. He has spent several years in study abroad during which time he had opportunity to observe the systems of military training in Switzerland and other European countries. The substance of his address is as follows:

Preparedness Deemed Unnecessary

"I am here this afternoon to discuss the claims of universal military training and service. This movement in our country is of comparatively recent origin. We have always cherished the feeling that however much other nations might need the protection of vast armies and armaments, our nation, strong in immense resources and isolated by great oceans, would never face serious dangers because of international complications. Up to the outbreak of the present war in Europe, the voice of the pacifist ruled and the few who dared to urge universal military training were accused of advocating a dangerous militarism diametrically opposed to the spirit of our nation.

"The European war brought about a little change of opinion in regard to the

question of preparedness. Some began to urge that steps be taken to prepare for any war emergency that might arise. Two years ago the Military Training Camps Association was organized by a few men who desired to demonstrate by actual service the benefits of military training. Out of this movement grew the military training camps held at Plattsburg and elsewhere which last year had an attendance of more than 16,000 men and boys. The National Service Magazine was established as the organ of the Military Training Camps Association and is being devoted to the advocacy of the principle that military training and service are normal obligations of citizenship.

The Administration War Measure

"A few days ago our nation declared itself in a state of war with one of the most powerful countries in Europe. In order to meet this emergency for which we are entirely unprepared, the Administration has submitted to Congress a war measure which provides that the regular army and the national guard shall be recruited up to war strength by voluntary enlistments and then that this force shall be supplemented by an army of 500,000 men secured by means of a selective draft if necessary. President Wilson has just declared himself opposed to the principle of universal military training although some of his very recent statements had led us to believe that he would no longer rely upon the volunteer system. The Chamberlain bill with its provisions for universal military training and service has been temporarily laid aside to make way for the measure submitted by the Administration. It may be that in this time of national crisis, loyalty to our nation's interests, may demand that we support the plans approved by our President even though they seem to us ill-advised and inadequate. This does not mean, however, that we must lay aside entirely our critical faculties and refrain from urging upon the government a course that seems to us far more desirable.

"At the present stage of the world, no nation can hope to be so isolated as to avoid all international complications. It is inevitable that there should grow up questions of international policy which vitally affect the welfare of each nation. Any nation worthy of the name must stand for certain rights and principles which may conflict with those of other nations. Pacifism as a policy under such a situation is entirely impracticable. No nation has as yet succeeded in maintaining such a thorough-going policy of peace that defense has never become necessary. Now if we ever intend to defend our rights, there are four alternatives that we may pursue.

Methods of Defense

"The first is to maintain a huge standing army. This is impracticable for economic reasons and is also opposed to the ideals of our nation. We do not want to create a professional army to be a burden upon our country. An army of sufficient size to be of value in these days of modern warfare would be itself a danger to our democracy instead of an instrument to defend us from danger abroad.

"A second alternative is to depend upon the state militia. This kind of a military organization has grown out of the old idea of state rights. Each state, it was argued, should maintain troops for its own defense. The state militia which forms the basis for our national guard has at times done effective work for our country. I have great admiration for those who have made sacrifices to belong to this organization. But the system is wrong and ineffective. Our recent experience on the Mexican border has shown how inadequate is such an army of defense. It is under divided authority, has never in practice been equipped and maintained at full fighting strength, and could not be depended upon to do effective service in case of a serious war.

Weakness of Volunteer System.

"A third method is to rely upon a volunteer system for our defense. This is the plan that seems to fit in so well with our American ideals of liberty. We speak with pride of the volunteers of '61 who fought so bravely for the preser-

vation of our Union. We forget that the army that opposed them was also made up of untrained volunteers. The result might have been quite different if they had been fighting against one of the trained armies of Europe. No one questions the bravery or the loyalty of the soldiers of the American Revolution, but we have the testimony of George Washington himself that the poorly trained volunteers who made up a part of his army were ineffective when pitted against regular soldiers. The commonly accepted view of the great prowess of American soldiers is not borne out by facts. General Emory Upton, in his 'Military Policy of the United States,' has shown the total breakdown of the militia and volunteers before trained troops. If we study carefully the history of our country, we will find everywhere evidence that the volunteer system has proved to be inadequate for our national defense.

Universal Military Training

"The only other alternative remaining is to have the whole nation trained for military service. According to this plan, the nation would be defended by a citizen army organized upon the principle that bearing arms is one of the normal duties of a citizen. Whenever such a system has been advocated in the past there has always arisen the cry of militarism. There is a wide-spread feeling throughout our whole country that universal military training would make our nation warlike and tend to drag our people into war sooner or later. Because of this belief that adequate preparedness would ultimately mean a domination of the military spirit, the American people have even during the critical situation that has prevailed the past two years resolutely turned away from all suggestions of military training.

The Chamberlain Bill

"A minority, however, who have been urging the necessity of preparedness, introduced into our last Congress, the Chamberlain bill, which provides for a system of military training designed to meet American conditions. According to the terms of this bill, males who are citizens, or who have declared their intentions to become citizens shall under-

go six months of military or naval training when they have become nineteen years of age. Persons physically unfit for any military or naval service and persons on whose earnings members of their families are dependent for their support, are exempt from training. Those also who have real religious scruples against war are required to take training only in non-combatant branches. It is planned to have this military training as far as possible during the warmer months, so that there would not be great need for the construction of permanent barracks. This period of training would be spent in the open air and would be sufficiently intensive and strenuous so as to give adequate training and at the same time leave little time or energy for the evils that are usually associated with army life. By requiring this military service of youths of nineteen there would be the least possible disturbance of our economic system since young men of that age have not yet attained to important places in the business or industrial world.

"Under this system it is estimated that each year 500,000 young men will be eligible for military training. After their six months of service they will pass into the reserve, where they will continue until twenty-eight years of age. When the plan comes into full operation, there will be available for the defense of our country approximately four million men who have been trained in the art of war.

War Requires Technical Training

"We are not advocating this plan simply to meet the present emergency. We are urging it on the ground that the future will also have its emergencies for which we must be prepared. War has become such a complicated and technical affair and it requires such a large force of men that adequate training for it requires not months but years. In this age of specialization we do not expect men trained in one line of work to succeed equally well in work entirely different. It is folly to think that men taken out of our shops and offices can be turned into soldiers over night. In the early days of our country when our population was largely rural and many lived on the frontier in the presence of

constant danger, their very habits of life caused them to be skilled in the use of arms and so the transition to the life of a soldier was not difficult. Those who are lulling themselves into a feeling of security by the thought that the Americans of today are as good fighters as are found anywhere forget that training in war counts as much as it does in any highly specialized profession.

Universal Service and Liberty

"Some object to universal military training on the ground that it conflicts with the ideals of liberty on which our country is founded. They feel that military service belongs to a despotic form of government. In their opinion freedom from military service is one of the blessings that goes along with a democratic form of government like ours. Volunteers should be relied upon to spring up in any time of crisis and furnish defense for their country. Those who take this view do not have an adequate conception of what is involved in the word liberty. They forget that liberty was in the first place achieved by force of arms and that it carries with it responsibilities which we dare not shirk. Liberty does not mean license to do as we please. No matter under what form of government we may live, certain rules and laws must be observed. Our rights are determined in relation to the welfare of others. Duties of citizenship must be observed by all and among these duties must be placed military training if we are to maintain the principles of freedom and justice for which our fathers fought.

"Universal military training is more fair than the volunteer system because under the latter the majority of those who enlist are the noblest, the bravest, and the most useful in our national life. It is a catastrophe that so many of our best trained men who are sorely needed in positions in economic and professional life must now be the first to go to war. We are making the same mistake that was made by England at the beginning of the war in Europe. England did not learn her lesson until her best young men had been mowed down in the early battles of that terrible conflict. This would not have been the case if they had

had in operation the principle of universal military training.

"Above all, this military training would help to make a real nation out of our people. Our country is filled with people from many different countries. They have come to share our opportunities and privileges and we welcome them to our midst. But the difficulty is that so many of them think that they can live here and remain Irish, Slav, Polish, or Italian and retain their language and

customs and ideals. We have been called the melting pot of the world, but the fact is that the Americanization of these different peoples is far from being realized. Nothing would bring us together more than to be united in a common cause. Service in the ranks, the rich by the side of the poor, the immigrant along with the native born would be an effective lesson in democracy and would bind the different types of people together in enduring ties of loyalty."

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

By Victor S. Yarros

The stupendous changes that have occurred recently in Russia have aroused widespread interest. Rumors of the growing discontent of the Russian people and of the treachery and corruption of some of the leaders in the government had been disseminated sufficiently to make clear to the public that a crisis was at hand. Few, however, were expecting the immediate fall of the Romanoff autocracy. The first successes of the revolution were beyond the hope of the most eager friends of democracy. As soon as news of this victory over despotism reached America, the public began inquiring how it was brought about. In order that the members of the City Club might have an opportunity to understand more clearly the situation in Russia, Mr. Victor S. Yarros was asked to address the Club at luncheon, March 21st, on the general subject of the Russian revolution. Mr. Yarros, who is the chairman of the Music Extension Committee of the City Club, has had intimate relations with political events in Russia, having been compelled during a former revolution to make his escape from that country. A large crowd listened to his highly interesting address which was in substance as follows:

"The events of thrilling interest now taking place in Russia are beyond my power to portray adequately. All that I will attempt to do will be to give you a little historical background, that you may understand a little better how such vast changes have been made possible.

War and Reform in Russia

"We can best begin, perhaps, by calling attention to the fact that in Russia war has always been the mother of reform. Russia's wars have generally been unsuccessful, and the autocracy, whenever it was weakened by defeat, was compelled to make concessions to the people. There is nothing remarkable or strange about the present situation except the vastness and apparent completeness of the changes that have occurred. It was to be expected that out of Russia's present war, which thus far cannot be called successful, there should develop insistent demands for the liberation of the people and for better organization.

"It was the Crimean War that led to the emancipation of the serfs. The transformation that occurred at the close of that war gained also for the people the right of trial by jury and other important reforms. In the Russo-Turkish War, the Russian forces were successful, but through the diplomatic interference of other powers, Russia lost almost all she had gained. Again there was profound discontent with new demands upon the government for popular reforms. Unfortunately, the people were not united and the movement ended practically in failure. The government made savage reprisals and punished severely those engaged in revolutionary activity. It was at that critical time that I was compelled to make my hasty escape from Russia and found refuge here in America.

"In 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out. This war was very unpopular with the masses of the people, who could not understand what it was about. Even the educated classes were not in sympathy with Russia's far eastern policy and disapproved of the aggressive policy against Japan. This war also was unsuccessful, and the government, weakened by its defeat, was helpless against the rising tide of reform. If peace with Japan had not come so soon, the revolution might have been carried to a more victorious conclusion. As it was, the Czar was compelled to grant the people a constitution and establish the Duma. The manifestos issued at this time marked a great step forward in the emancipation of the Russian people.

Government and Duma in Conflict

"Unfortunately, as time went on, the government began taking some of their concessions back. The people's protests remained unheeded, and the reactionary party advised the Czar to abolish the Duma. Members of the Duma were assassinated and it began to look as if the people were destined to be totally deprived of their hard won rights.

"But the Balkan situation was becoming critical and the Czar was afraid to incur the displeasure of the people by abolishing the Duma. He needed the Duma's support in swaying public opinion and in helping him to make the loans necessary to strengthen his government. The bureaucracy, however, took advantage of every opportunity to strengthen their position and keep the people in subjection. One by one the powers of the Duma were taken away until it became little more than a kind of clerical machine unable to carry out the purpose for which it had been established. Many of the friends of the Duma said it was useless to keep up the struggle longer. Others felt that it would be better to cling to what they had and hope for better days in the future.

"So the Duma maintained a feeble and precarious existence. The Czar could dissolve the Duma at will and whenever it gave signs of becoming troublesome he exercised this power remorselessly. Sometimes the Duma would be prorogued for a week and during this interim

the government would enact the laws to which the Duma had been bitterly opposed. The voice of the people was throttled by establishing a censorship so strict that not even the papers of Petrograd could report the speeches delivered in the Duma.

"In 1911 the situation seemed ripe for another revolution. Everybody was talking about it. Many hoped that the army and navy would come out boldly on the side of the people. The extreme revolutionary party tried to inaugurate a reign of terror. In spite of the seeming strength of the movement, however, the demands for reform could not be realized.

Russia and the Present War

"Then, in 1914, came the outbreak of the present war. From the first this war was popular with the Russian people. They felt that their nation had a great mission to carry out, that of uniting all the Slavs of Southern and Eastern Europe. For years this dream had been cherished by all classes in the Empire. This war became to them a war of emancipation for the Slavic races. Besides, the pro-German element in Russia was heartily disliked. They belonged to the reactionary party and occupied high positions in the government. Their oppressive rule and opposition to reform made them especially unpopular. This pro-German spirit that prevailed among a large portion of the aristocracy served to make the Germans even more unpopular among the people and caused them to welcome the opportunity to attack Germany.

"While it seemed at first that almost all of Russia was united whole heartedly in this war, it soon began to be apparent that there was a strong party in favor of concluding a separate peace. The suspicion spread that some elements in the government were disloyal to the cause for which the nation was fighting. Through censorship an ineffectual attempt was made to suppress all such rumors. The situation became acute and the names of the disloyal leaders in the government were finally publicly proclaimed. The people charged that the failure of the campaign in Austria came about through lack of munitions caused by the inefficient and treacherous manage-

ment of the pro-Germans in the government. A new ministry was demanded that would be loyal to Russia instead of intriguing with the enemy. Forty changes were made in the cabinet, but there resulted no marked improvement in the policy of the government. People demanded that representatives from the Duma, or at least men trusted by the Duma, should be given a voice in the affairs of the nation. This was refused and by means of a double censorship of the press, an effort was made to prevent the people from learning about the corruption and treachery of officials.

Milner's Conference with Czar

"This critical situation became known to the Allies and finally Lord Milner, a member of Lloyd-George's cabinet, was sent to Russia to confer with the government. In an interview with the Czar he frankly told him of the serious nature of the revolution and advised him to appoint an honest ministry and make liberal concessions to the people. To this advice the Czar gave no heed and Milner returned to England without having accomplished his purpose.

Outbreak of the Revolution

"Conditions in Russia became more and more unendurable. In spite of the immense stores of food, the people were starving. The distribution of food could not be carried out satisfactorily because its transportation became a matter of graft among the government officials. Bread riots broke out in the larger cities. People knew that their suffering was the result of dishonest administration and they were insistent in their demands for governmental reform. The crisis became more acute and the government began to fear for its own safety. In order to stem the rising tide of revolution, the government issued a manifesto again proroguing the Duma. For the first time in its history the Duma flatly refused to obey. Instead of disbanding they met secretly and established a provisional government. Doubtless, conferences had been going on for some time with the officers of the army and navy, and probably the leaders in the Duma had assurance of military support. At any rate, the army and navy lined up

with the new government and thus made possible the success of the revolution. Even the Cossacks, stationed in Petrograd to maintain order for the government, refused to fight. No one would stand up for the old régime. Every body was angry and resentful because of the lack of food, the inefficiency of the government and the pro-German political intrigues. The revolt against the government was so general and determined that the Czar was unable to resist.

Future of the New Government

"Now, what are the prospects for the future? Will the revolution be a permanent success? All friends of the new Russia must admit that the new régime faces many subtle dangers. Ultra-radical leaders of the revolution may wreck the whole movement by insisting upon too violent a break with the past.

"Then there will be the intrigues instigated by German influence. The Germans' hope of bringing about a separate peace with Russia was blasted by the revolution. In their desperate effort to accomplish their purpose, they may finance a movement to bring the reactionists back into power. It is even possible that a portion of the army and navy may be won over by bribes, and if this is done there is sure to be serious trouble.

"Personally I regret the abdication of Grand Duke Michael. Russia is not yet ready for a Republic. A constitutional monarchy is the kind of government that ought to be established. This would satisfy the people and would sufficiently protect their rights for the present.

"Fortunately the majority of the men at the helm are not extremists. The men in charge of affairs are competent, sober people, who can be trusted to work out wise policies. The war is more popular today than before the revolution. The people no longer fear intrigues to conclude a separate peace. The whole nation will organize itself as never before to crush German influence in their country and make possible a victory over their enemies. There is reasonable hope that a new era has dawned in Russia, which will mean a permanent advance in the people's age-long struggle for liberty and justice."

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The City Club Bulletin

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JESSE F. STEINER, Editor

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SYMPOSIUM AT THE CITY CLUB ON "AMERICA AT WAR"

Thursday evening, May 10, and Thursday evening, May 17.

Now that we are ourselves directly engaged in the war, the mind of the nation is more eager than ever to learn in every way possible about the background, the meaning, the tremendous issues of the conflict. Arrangements have accordingly been made for giving at the Club the following addresses, which have just been given and received with great interest at the University of Chicago.

It is hoped and requested that on each evening everyone attending will come for the entire program, including

dinner, and will be seated in the lounge at 6 o'clock.

Seats in the lounge for the addresses will be reserved for all holders of dinner tickets. Seats cannot be guaranteed—and probably will not be available—unless so reserved.

Dinner seats will be assigned in the order in which checks are received—first in the main dining room and then in the grill and private dining rooms.

Dinner tickets, \$1.00. Dress strictly informal. Members may bring guests—men or women.

PROGRAM

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 10, 1917.

Presiding Frank I. Moulton
First Address 6 p. m. in the Lounge
 "The Threat of German World-Politics"
 Harry Pratt Judson
Dinner 7 p. m. in the Main
 and other Dining Rooms
Second Address 8 p. m. in the Lounge
 "American Democracy and World-Politics"
 Shailer Mathews
Third Address 9 p. m. in the Lounge
 "The Passing of Splendid Isolation"
 Arthur Pearson Scott

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 17, 1917.

Presiding Victor Elting
First Address 6 p. m. in the Lounge
 "From Spectator to Participant"
 Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin
Dinner 7 p. m. in the Main
 and other Dining Rooms
Second Address 8 p. m. in the Lounge
 "Democracy the Basis of a World-Order"
 Frederick Dennison Bramhall
Third Address 9 p. m. in the Lounge
 "Civilization's Stake in the War"
 Paul Shorey

CLUB NOTES

THE annual meeting of the City Club was held in the main dining room of the Club Tuesday, April 24th. The president's and treasurer's reports presented at that time are printed in full in this issue of the BULLETIN. The following officers and directors were elected:

President—Frank I. Moulton.

Vice-President—Edgar A. Bancroft.

Secretary—Roy C. Osgood.

Treasurer—Harold H. Rockwell.

Directors—For a term of two years: Herbert J. Friedman, Arthur B. Hall, Paul Steinbrecher, George D. Webb.

To fill the unexpired term of Edgar A. Bancroft: Bradford Gill.

On recommendation of the recently organized National Defense Committee, the Club voted that the dues of Club members serving in the army or navy be waived during service. The Club also voted that this committee be authorized to raise contributions from the members to purchase an ambulance to cost \$1,600 for the American Ambulance Corps in France.

The meeting voted to send the following cablegram to Professor Paul Milyoukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Russia's new cabinet:

"City Club of Chicago, in annual meeting assembled, remembering your illuminating lectures here twelve years ago on Russia, congratulates you and your associates in the provisional government upon your glorious work for liberty and rejoices to welcome the Russian people among the family of democracies."

Professor Milyoukov came to this country as a political exile in 1903. During the summer of that year he lectured at the University of Chicago on "Russian Civilization" and in February, 1905, addressed the City Club on the subject: "Recent Changes in Russia." During the past few years he has been the leader of the Cadet (Constitutional Democrat) party in the Duma. He is a professor at the University of Moscow and is editor of the *Retch*, an influential daily newspaper.

BY order of the Directors there is mailed with the BULLETIN the Red Cross subscription blank to enable Club members to become members of the American Red Cross.

MR. GEORGE C. SIKES, a member of the Public Affairs Committee of the City Club, left Chicago on Thursday, May 3, for California, to be gone about six weeks. He has been engaged by the Taxpayers' Association of California to assist in the preparation of a report on governmental conditions in Los Angeles following the general lines of the recently issued report of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency on the Unification of Local Governments in Chicago. Mr. Sikes, who was secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency from its organization in 1910 to October, 1915, was specially engaged by the Bureau to assist in the preparation of its report on Unification of Local Governments. Mr. Sikes has also been connected with the public life of the city in several other ways. In addition to his work as a newspaper writer in Chicago extending over a period of twenty-five years, he was secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, secretary of the Street Railway Commission of 1900, and served as expert investigator for the Chicago Harbor Commission of 1909.

The following persons have joined the Club since April 19, 1917:

Frank D. Abbott, publisher of The Presto (music weekly).

W. H. Burnett, treasurer S. Weinstein Company, manufacturers of jewelers' trays, cases, etc.

Dr. Vernon C. David, physician and surgeon.

Arthur H. East, assistant cashier Warren Gorrell & Co.

H. I. Koppelman, general manager West Disinfecting Company.

Dr. Samuel Lichner, physician.

F. A. Lippert, vice-president and manager Wenborne-Karpen Dryer Company.

Charles W. Litsey, secretary to Franklin MacVeagh.

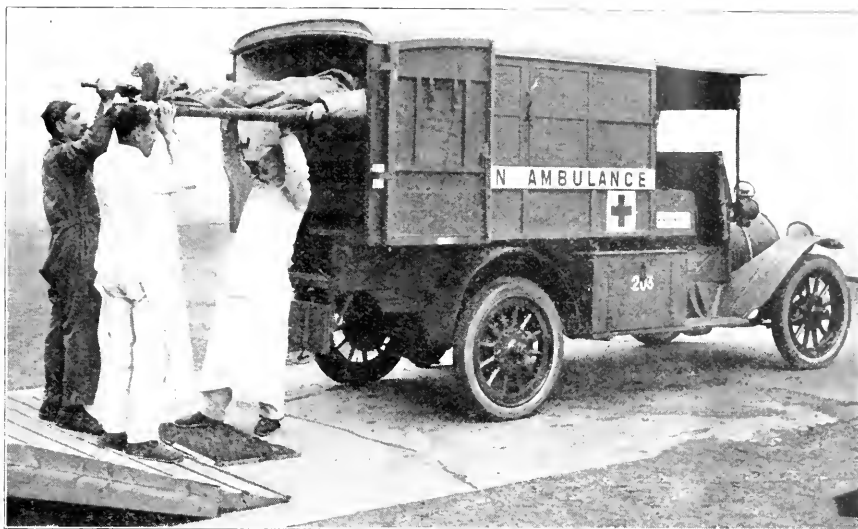
Ariel Meinrath, president Meinrath Brokerage Company.

F. A. Miller, inspector, mechanical and electrical engineer U. S. Treasury Department.

Sidney L. Morgenthau, Morgenthau Bros., clothing manufacturers.

H. W. Nelson, president H. W. Nelson Company, railroad construction contractors.

Walter A. Payne, recorder and examiner University of Chicago.



UNLOADING AN AMBULANCE OF THE AMERICAN AMBULANCE CORPS AT AMERICAN HOSPITAL, NEUILLY, FRANCE.

This is the type of ambulance which the City Club is asked to donate.

CITY CLUB REQUESTED TO PURCHASE AMBULANCE FOR AMERICAN AMBULANCE CORPS IN FRANCE

Long before our nation found it necessary to participate in the present war, the members of the American Ambulance Corps in France were upholding the best traditions of our country in their heroic service in behalf of those wounded in battle. With our entrance into the war new interest centers in their work and an effort is being made to enlarge their sphere of service.

A few weeks ago the City Club received an appeal to aid in this cause. The National Defense Committee of the City Club took the matter under consideration and at the annual meeting of the Club read this appeal, a portion of which is as follows:

"Has the terrible lack of ambulances in the American Corps in France been called to your attention? Our brave young countrymen who have from the beginning been doing such heroic work for the wounded, sometimes driving from forty to eighty hours without sleep, are in despair because in spite of all they can do, men they would save lie in silent

rows of agony from twenty-four to forty hours, till gangrene sets in and limbs and brave lives are lost, for want of ambulances. Will not your organization contribute an ambulance to help meet this need?"

The Club's response to this appeal was enthusiastic and by unanimous vote the National Defense Committee was authorized to solicit contributions from Club members for the purchase of an ambulance for the American Corps in France.

The ambulance complete and ready for use in the field will cost about \$1,600. Bearing the inscription, "Presented by City Club of Chicago," it will be a witness on the battlefields of Europe to the ideals of service fostered by the City Club.

A small amount from each member of the Club will make possible the purchase of this ambulance. Contributions should be designated for the "City Club Ambulance Fund."

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CITY CLUB, APRIL 24, 1917

By FRANK I. MOULTON

The Club's Financial Problem

The report of the Board of Directors published in the Bulletin of May 24, 1907, contained the following statement:

"The establishment of a special fund for the public work of the Club constitutes another important innovation adopted during the past year. This action was induced by the conclusion that the various lines of public work, carried on by the Club, such as the weekly discussions, the publication of the Bulletin, special investigations undertaken, special publications, and the special plan of committee work, being essentially public work, should be financed independently of the regular Club dues, leaving the latter to be devoted solely to the physical maintenance and the regular operation of the Club as such. Otherwise the very low dues maintained by the City Club would be subjected to a special, uncertain and obviously unjust burden.

"In accordance with these notions a special fund has been established to provide for the public work of the Club."

From this statement the argument follows that the regular Club dues should provide a fund sufficient to pay for the physical maintenance and regular operation of the Club as such.

From 1907 to 1912 the public work fund was provided by special contributions by a few individuals. Since that time these special contributions have been supplemented by contributions from a considerable number of members of the Club.

The Treasurer's report of April, 1913, being for the first full year of operation in the present Club House, showed an excess of operating expenses, exclusive of the cost of public work, over receipts from dues, rent and initiation fees of \$4,994.00. The initiation fees for the year were \$2,960.00.

The Treasurer's report of April, 1914, showed a similar deficit of \$4,185.00; that of April, 1915, a like deficit of \$7,682.00, and the report of April, 1916, a deficit in the same items of \$11,685.00. The items classed as public work ranged in amount during these years from \$11,411.79 in 1912-13 to \$12,051.33 in 1915-16. This condition made it necessary to raise from \$16,000.00 to \$22,000.00 each year, in addition to the

amount realized from dues, rent and initiation fees, to provide the public work fund and the deficit in operating expenses. This sum was largely underwritten by a small number of members and friends of the Club.

Dues Inadequate to Cover Expenses

From this statement it is clear that if we eliminate the amounts received from rental—about \$4,000 per annum—and initiation fees, fluctuating from \$2,960 in 1912-1913 to nothing in 1915-1916, the amount of dues paid by members has fallen short of operating expenses—exclusive of public work items—from \$10,000 to \$15,000 each year since the present Club House was occupied.

In addition to the deficit, there had been a very considerable accumulation of delinquent dues carried as an asset. It was this condition, and not a theory, that confronted your officers and directors when you summoned me to the office of President in April, 1916.

The men who had so liberally contributed to the deficit in the past reminded us of the pledge that had been given, that the dues should, in some manner, be made to take care of the operating expenses. Part of the deficit for the year 1915-1916 was carried over into the next fiscal year, and in addition to this it was felt that part of the items under public work ought, legitimately, to be classed as maintenance and operating expenses.

The necessity for an additional income from dues, either by means of a greater membership or increased dues, or both, has been recognized by the Finance Committee and officers for some time, and has been the subject of earnest consideration by these bodies, and discussed in the last two annual reports of the President.

The Directors were unanimously of the opinion, that the imperative problem, before them, was a financial one; and that means must be adopted to harmonize regular income and ordinary operating expenses; also that the fiscal

year, beginning April 1, 1917, should begin without a deficit.

Our Present Financial Situation

It is not necessary to dwell upon the efforts which have been made to raise the dues, restore the initiation fee, increase the membership and clear up the deficit. Most of the members have had various reminders of what we have been trying to do, to which they have given their hearty support. In justification of our efforts the Treasurer's report shows either all debts paid, or funds or pledges on hand, to meet all obligations to April 1, 1917, including accrued interest, taxes and rent, and all dues for the quarter beginning April 1st, available for that quarter's operating expenses.

The depreciation in equipment charged off during the past five years, amounting to \$7,757.42, has been made good; all doubtful items, including \$3,637.35 delinquent dues, have been charged off, and the Treasurer's statement is believed to be as sound as that of any conservative merchant. This result has been made possible only by the liberal response of all of our members and the especially effective work of our former president, Mr. Allen B. Pond.

The increased dues and initiation fees, even with the present membership, should, at a conservative estimate, produce a greater annual income than under the old schedule of dues of between \$21,000.00 and \$23,000.00. Some of our members feared that an increase in dues would result in a greatly reduced membership. It is gratifying to know that these fears have not been realized. On April 1, 1916, our membership was 2,379, and April 1, 1917, it was 2,226, and this notwithstanding that it has been found necessary in the meantime to drop from the rolls 101 members for non-payment of dues, a very considerable number of whom were delinquent on April 1, 1916.

This detail of financial and membership matters has been given because it is considered that the members of the Club are entitled to the information, and for the additional reason that we have always had faith to believe that the members of the Club would rally, as they have done, to the needs of the Club.

Need for Enlarged Membership

With our present membership, on the new scale of dues, we are now in a position where our income will not only take care of our operating expenses; but with possibly a small contribution to special public work needs it should be sufficient to take care of our entire budget. But in order to meet all financial requirements a membership of not less than 2,500 is necessary. This we *must* have, and it will be the task for the coming year. It is hoped every member will realize the necessity of continuing the membership campaign. We need the sixth floor of our Club House for our own purposes, but it is doubtful if it can be so used until our regular income is sufficient to defray our ordinary and public work expense.

Sound business methods also dictate that a sinking fund should be established to provide for our bonded indebtedness. Initiation fees, which we have been compelled to use for general expenses, ought to be applied at the earliest possible date to the payment of bonds. It will not be possible to do this unless our membership is increased to at least 2,500.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that the contributions during the past five years to public work fund and deficit have been sufficient to have paid approximately one-half of our bonded indebtedness.

If some method can be found by which we can pay the bonds secured on our leasehold and building, it will be equivalent to an endowment of \$200,000, and by eliminating the item of interest, add \$10,000 a year to the fund for public work. This, it is suggested, should be a matter for serious consideration during the coming year, either by the Finance Committee or a special committee appointed for that purpose.

Varied Activities of the Club

While the officers of the Club have been occupied with the financial and membership campaigns, the regular and usual activities of the Club have been maintained. The national campaign, the war and local elections and affairs have been of absorbing interest and have been reflected in the Club program. There

have been 62 luncheon discussions and addresses and 18 evening meetings.

The open forum discussions at luncheons, under the direction of the Public Affairs Committee, have been of unusual interest, and have brought to our platform men of international and national distinction. Notable addresses have been given by Prof. Howard L. Smith of the Wisconsin State University and others on the Preparedness Program; on Prison Management, by Thomas Mott Osborne; on the International Situation, by Percy Alden, M. P., London; on Pan-Americanism, by John Barrett, Director-General, Pan-American Union; the Mexican Situation, by Prof. David Starr Jordan; the Adamson Law, by Wm. G. Lee, President, International Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and Edward P. Ripley, President, Santa Fe Railroad; How England Prepared for the War, by Captain Ian Hay Beith; Relief Work Which Holland Is Doing, Mathys P. Rooseboom, Assistant Secretary, Permanent Court of Arbitration, The Hague.

The national issues have been variously presented, especially at an evening meeting by Hon. Walter L. Fisher and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, representing one side, and Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin and Miss Mary McDowell speaking for the other side.

An endeavor has been made to respond to the suggestion for greater social activities and more opportunities for social intercourse among our members.

The Symposium on the Ideals of Contemporary Life, held in April and May of last year, the plans for which were perfected during the previous year, was an event of great interest and distinction, taxing all departments of the Club to their capacity each night.

The Mid-Winter Camp Fire, February 28th, brought together the "Good Fellows" of the Club, provided an evening of good sport, as well as some rare tales of adventure and excellent pictures, moving and still, of the mountains, woods and streams.

Chamber Music Concerts by the Shostac String Quartet, assisted by vocal and instrumental artists, have been given for thirteen consecutive Tuesday evenings, under the direction of the Committee on

Music Extension, Mr. Victor S. Yarros, Chairman. Members who have failed to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by these concerts to spend a delightful evening have missed one of the rare privileges offered by the Club during the winter and spring. The concerts have been of a high order and not only greatly enjoyed by all who have attended them, but enthusiastically received. It is to be regretted that the attendance of our members has been meager.

In addition to the Chamber Music Concerts, three national concerts—American, German and Bohemian—have been given under the auspices of the same committee, all of a high order of excellence.

The Art Committee has provided three exhibits of paintings in the Lounge, one each by Oliver Dennett Grover, Wilson Irvine and the Municipal Art League, and an exhibit of bronzes by Alvin Polachek.

The various civic committees have been active in the consideration of their respective subjects, many of the committees having been represented at hearings before committees of the State Legislature at Springfield on subjects pending before that body.

In reviewing the reports of the committees one is impressed with the very considerable number of subjects which have had their consideration, and the number of recommendations which have resulted in official action and in legislation. Time permits of only a brief summary of these activities, some of which are as follows:

Work of the Civic Committees

ACCIDENT PREVENTION.

Studied question of accidental burns of children, and conferred with the secretary of the Public Safety Commission, in regard to propaganda on this subject, during Accident Prevention Week.

Investigated exits of theaters, and found only two violations of the law, on a given date. Secured newspaper publicity, and obtained promises of correction in these two cases.

Co-operated in a joint committee of social and civic organizations, to investigate the 14th street tenement gas explosion and fire; and assisted in drafting an ordinance designed to prevent a recurrence of similar accidents.

MUNICIPAL ART.

Conferred with the corporation counsel and building commissioner, urging vigorous action in removing illegal billboards under the U. S. Supreme Court decision, upholding the Chicago ordinance requiring frontage consents for the erection of billboards.

Again recommended to the Ferguson Art Fund Trustees, the erection of small objects of art in the poorer neighborhoods of the city.

LOCAL AND STATE CHARITIES.

In co-operation with the Club's Committees on Health and Public Order, urged the Commissioner of Health to open the Municipal Lodging House last winter, which was done.

Recommended to the Cook County Board that two bio-chemists and one bacteriologist be added to the force of the Psychopathic Hospital. Sent letters to members of Legislature endorsing "Loan Shark" Bill (S. B. 171).

Arranged Saturday afternoon excursions of the committee, to the State Penitentiary at Joliet, the Cook County Infirmary at Oak Forest, and the Cook County Psychopathic Hospital.

CITY PLANNING.

Continued the study of the north side of Chicago; received and discussed reports from and with co-operating committees; were addressed by various speakers, on some of the problems involved; and on the proposed Illinois Central Railroad lake front improvement.

Endorsed Zoning Bill (H. B. 220) designed to enable the cities of the state to direct their physical development.

Made a study of the proposed Ogden avenue extension to Lincoln Park. Informally concurred with the general plan, but took no official action.

CIVIL SERVICE.

Sent letters to the senators and congressmen from Illinois, urging their support of the amendment to the Federal Appropriation Bill, placing postmasters under civil service.

Sent letters to mayor and members of City Council, calling attention to the failure of the Civil Service Commission to comply with the Council order to submit to the City Council each month a list of temporary appointees.

Forwarded to the resolutions committee of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive state conventions, a draft of a civil service plank, with the request that it be embodied in their respective platforms.

STATE CONSTITUTION.

Sent letters to members of the state committees of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties urging the adoption, by their state party conventions, of a resolution favoring a constitutional convention; and to the members of the General Assembly, urging the passage of the resolution for a constitutional convention; and appeared at the hearing before the House Committee, and during the pendency of the resolution in the House and Senate.

Also prepared a comprehensive survey of questions to be considered by the constitu-

tional convention, on some of which discussions were had before the committee.

Recommended to Governor Lowden legislation that would make it possible for the political parties to include the question of calling a constitutional convention, on their party ballots, in order that a larger popular vote on this question might be secured.

DRAINAGE AND SEWERAGE.

Sent letters to Illinois members of Congress, protesting against the adoption of proposed amendment of the Rivers and Harbors Bill, limiting the flow of water in the Chicago Sanitary District Canal.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Raised and expended \$1000 for a preliminary statistical study of certain features of the Chicago School System, the results of which are now under consideration by the Board of Education.

Made careful study of problem of vocational education, and assisted in framing legislation on this subject, which has been presented to the Legislature.

Investigated the question of the tenure of teachers in the leading cities of the United States; and on its recommendation the Public Affairs Committee ordered sent to the Board of Education, a protest against the so-called "Loeb rule," affecting the tenure of teachers by dropping the "meritorious service clause," from the rules of the Board of Education.

Assisted in arranging discussion before the Club, of school bills in the present Legislature.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

Formulated a plan for a comprehensive survey of the finances of the city, and other local governments.

FIRE PROTECTION.

Arranged for a noon-day meeting of the Club on Fire Prevention Day, October 9th, which was addressed by specialists in fire prevention.

Prepared and sent to members of the Club at Christmas time, a circular emphasizing the necessity of precaution during the holiday season in order to prevent fires.

Endorsed Senate Bill 214, to amend Cities and Villages Act so as to give cities authority to require fire drills.

Co-operated with a joint committee of members of city organizations, in the investigation of the Murray building fire in 14th street; and assisted in a publicity campaign, in support of a proposed ordinance to fix the responsibility for the maintenance of gas pipes.

HARBORS, WHARVES AND WATERWAYS.

Made study of suggested harbor improvements north of Kinzie street, lake front development, and straightening of south branch of the Chicago River.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Considered request of the staff of the Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, for a state appropriation for the erection of a new building with modern equipment.

Investigated the question of medical examinations as proposed by the Life Extension Institute.

HOUSING CONDITIONS.

Co-operated with the City Planning Committee in preparing maps, showing residential and industrial occupation of certain sections of the north side.

IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP.

Took up with the Commissioner of Immigration the matter of securing a more general use of the Federal Immigrant Station in Chicago.

Made a study of the problem of the education and naturalization of adult foreigners.

Arranged for a meeting of representatives of foreign nationality groups at the Club, in order to work out methods of increasing attendance of adult immigrants at night schools.

Was instrumental in having the Board of Education appropriate \$5,000.00 to be used in advertising the evening schools.

LABOR CONDITIONS.

Sent letters to Illinois congressmen, urging passage of Keating-Owen Federal Child Labor Bill, Kern-McGillicuddy Federal Workmen's Compensation Bill, and Casey Bill, for a Woman's Division in the United States Department of Labor.

Co-operated with Club committee on Public Education in studying question of vocational education.

Investigated conditions in the men's garment making industry in Chicago.

Made a study of prosecutions under the factory acts; and sent letters to the governor and attorney-general, calling attention to certain needs in the department of factory inspection.

NORTH SHORE.

Discussed plans for the acquisition and preservation of the Skokie Valley by the Forest Preserve Commission.

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS.

Opposed the proposed bond issue, submitted at the general election, November 7, 1916, for \$2,450,000 for improvements and extension of special parks and bathing beaches, on the ground that more adequate study of the conditions and needs of the city should be made before action taken.

Opposed with other civic groups the adoption at the election of November 7, 1916, of the park consolidation bill.

Adopted proposed communication to U. S. Committee on National Parks, favoring the acquisition of the Indiana Sand Dunes for a national park.

POLITICAL NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS.

Prior to election of April 4, 1916, issued statement against act—submitted to a referendum—to amend the Municipal Court Act and, among others things, to permit an increase of salaries in the bailiff's office.

PUBLIC ORDER.

Co-operated on a committee consisting of representatives from civic organizations and

public officials, to consider advisability of submitting a proposition for a bond issue for a new county jail. Sent letter to president of county commissioners approving such bond issue and calling attention to certain features, which should be considered in planning for a new jail.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

Studied in detail the features of the report of the Chicago Traction and Subway Commission.

PUBLICITY AND STATISTICS.

Made suggestions to directors of the Club, in regard to ways of improving the Bulletin.

Discussed possibilities of getting more Club news and facts concerning ideals of Club, in the daily press.

Made a study of city statistics and reports of city and county officials.

STREETS, ALLEYS AND BRIDGES.

Gave to the press a report of the proposed bond issue of \$2,000,000 for waste disposal plants; and recommended that the bond issue be not approved until arrangements should be made to establish a branch of the city government, to take charge of these plants.

Sent a letter to Senate Committee on Post Offices, urging the continuation of the pneumatic postal tube service in Chicago for one year; and recommended a careful study to determine the advisability of making this system permanent, and also extending it to other business sections of the city.

Sent letter to City Council protesting against proposed ordinance permitting the establishment of a switch track and sidings on Carroll avenue.

TAXATION.

Investigated recent tax legislation in other states, in order to get data upon which to base recommendations regarding changes in Illinois tax system.

Studied illegal tax levies and is formulating an amendment to the revenue law so that the validities of the levies made by taxing bodies, may be judicially determined before the taxes are extended.

Discussed methods of securing a more scientific basis for the imposition of license taxes.

WATER SUPPLY.

Recommended to Finance Committee of the City Council, that an adequate appropriation be made for the purchase and installation of water meters in the city, to reduce the waste of water.

VICE CONDITIONS.

Sent letters to Chicago members of State Legislature asking their support of an amendment to the Pandering Law as proposed in the bill originating with the Committee of Fifteen.

Sent letters to Chicago members of State Legislature, urging passage of bill forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors, at public dances and skating entertainments.

Club Publications

During the year a volume on City Residential Land Development has been published by the Club, containing twenty-seven designs for laying out typical quarter sections of land in the outskirts of the city of Chicago, being plans submitted at the Club's prize competition, the work being edited by Mr. Alfred B. Yeomans, with reviews by Carol Aronovici, William B. Faville, Albert Kelsey, Irving K. Pond and Robert A. Pope.

The Bureau of Public Efficiency, which we are always pleased to refer to as a child of the City Club, issued in February an exhaustive report on the unification of local governments in Chicago, which report has attracted very considerable attention in the public press; and by various organizations in the city. A tentative bill has been drafted covering that part of the report dealing with city officials.

A conference composed of representatives of the Association of Commerce, Union League Club, the Commercial Club, Cook County Real Estate Board, the Industrial Club, the City Club, Chicago Real Estate Board and the Citizens' Association has been formed for the purpose of considering the bill, with the expectation that these organizations will agree upon a final draft of the bill, which will become the subject of public discussion and agitation; and which will be eventually written into the statutes of our state.

This Club, through its Committees on City Planning, Civil Service, State Constitution, Public Expenditures, Parks and Playgrounds, Political Nominations and Elections, Public Utilities and Taxation, has given the matter careful study and has organized its forces to aid in inaugurating this reform.

The coming year will be, in some respects, a crucial one with the Club. We must hold all we have gained in a financial way, increase our membership, intensify our activities and extend our influence.

Issues Awaiting Attention

War issues will hold the attention of the nation, and make great demands upon all the people. These issues are apt to overshadow all other interests. While we must not fail to respond in-

dividually and as a Club to these new and urgent demands, it must not be overlooked that now, as never before, are efficiency and integrity essential in all governmental affairs, and never was so keen and alert an interest in local affairs necessary as at the present time.

Our efforts should be centered on a constructive program. Important measures are pending in the legislature to which our attention ought to be given. Of these the Non-partisan Election Bill, the Zoning Bill and the various Civil Service Bills are typical.

The various projects of the plan commission of the city of Chicago; the lake front problem; vocational education; the reorganization of our school system; accident prevention; enforcement of laws governing the employment of women and children; health and housing conditions; a suitable jail plan and police stations are among the major items that may well have our attention.

The proposed constitutional convention is of the first importance, and should have the earnest consideration of the proper committee, and the Club should engage actively in the campaign of agitation and education on this subject.

More should be done to inform our entire membership of the activities of our various committees, not only as to any specific action that may have been taken, but also as to questions under consideration.

The City Club Bulletin

One of the mediums through which this can be best accomplished is the BULLETIN. The BULLETIN ought to be not only the mouthpiece of the Club, but the open line of communication between the committees and the membership of the Club. The various committees should be permitted and requested to contribute articles or items on subjects under consideration; and reports of addresses or discussion before the committees. The subjects being considered by the committees should be announced in the BULLETIN, that members interested may have an opportunity to be heard by the committees if they desire. The BULLETIN might well contain brief reports, and an analysis of reports of department heads of the city government,

park boards, or other municipal boards, or officers, and reports of social organizations. This would place before our members many details of local government affairs not obtainable elsewhere.

It should be possible to provide a voluntary staff, or editorial board, to assist the editor in carrying out these details. If this program is approved, the BULLETIN should be published definitely, at stated intervals, with the same regularity and precision as any periodical.

The question of publication of the BULLETIN has been discussed for a number of years, and it has continued to be published at irregular intervals. It has been edited with ability; and the recent numbers have been of great interest. These facts but strengthen the arguments in favor of regularity of issue, and broadening of scope.

It ought to be possible to formulate plans by which a greater participation in the activities of the Club may be had by all its members, and by which the voice of the entire membership may be heard, or their opinion recorded, on public measures of great importance and on pending legislation.

The City Club has a great and growing influence in the community. It stands for all that is best in public affairs. The call for a continuing loyalty and co-operation in the Club's work comes with a peculiar urgency at this time.

Each of us must feel the obligation to aid in extending its field of influence and endeavor, to assist in increasing its membership, and to give our support to its activities during the ensuing year of great national strain and concern.

Work of the Standing Committees

In closing, a word of appreciation must be expressed for the work of the various standing committees, as well as the Civic Committees. The work of the Civic Committees ripens into action and gains Club and public recognition. All have had a lively appreciation that there was a Membership Campaign Committee, but the Admissions Committee, the House Committee and "Mr. Gill's" committee work unsung for the good of the cause. For two years Mr. S. Bowles King, chairman, and Mr. Chas. Yeomans on the House Committee, have given liberally of their time and attention to the work of the House Committee, to the very great advantage of the Club. The Admissions Committee has met regularly and given prompt and careful consideration to the very considerable number of names that have come before them for scrutiny.

In addition to the work of the committees there has been hearty co-operation by all the officers of the Club and the members of the Board of Directors in the somewhat unusual labors of the past year. The office staff have been responsive, capable and efficient, and the general house force have been not only loyal, but have exhibited a keen interest in the work of their respective departments.

Finally: This survey of the year's work is necessarily, by the limitation of time, if not otherwise, sketchy and in outline, from which many matters entitled to consideration have undoubtedly been omitted. It discloses, however, the great variety and scope of the questions on which the Club, through its various instrumentalities, has sought information, in its endeavor to be of service to the community in solving the many problems pressing for solution.



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as at March 31st, 1917.

ASSETS

Leasehold Building and Equipment at Cost.....		\$178,719.98
Furnishings:		
Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$8,325.47	
Kitchen Equipment	2,431.78	
Crockery and Utensils.....	2,102.67	
Silverware	1,143.92	
Linen	321.45	
House Linen	33.66	
	—————	14,358.95
Inventories:		
Provisions	\$ 643.13	
Cigars	774.90	
Dining Room Supplies.....	23.38	

Inventories:

Provisions	\$ 643.13
Cigars	774.90
Dining Room Supplies.....	23.38
	<hr/>
1,441.41	
 Accounts Receivable:	
Unpaid Dues	\$1,279.16
Subscribers to Public Work Fund.....	8,844.50
Subscribers to Deficiency Fund.....	536.35
Rents Receivable	104.00
Unpaid Restaurant and Cigar Checks.....	65.75
General Accounts	298.39
	<hr/>
11,128.15	

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	<hr/> 11,128.15

Sundry Prepayments:

Leasehold Ground Rent.....	\$ 845.80
Insurance Premiums	728.35
	<hr/>
	1,574.15

Cash in Bank and on Hand.

Christmas Fund	\$332.57
Competition Publication	514.57
Terminal Publication	31.67
Housing Exhibit Publication	49.40
Publication Fund	75.62
Neighborhood Center Publication Fund	63.25
North Side City Planning Study Fund	48.00
Educational Research Bureau	18.41
Chamber of Music Fund	232.23
	<hr/> 1,365.72

LIABILITIES

First Mortgage Leaschold 5% Bonds: Authorized Issue, Due August 1, 1941.	\$200,000.00
Bonds Issued	\$182,000.00
Scrip Issued (Secured by Deposit of City Club Bonds with the Northern Trust Co.)	\$3,900.00 3,675.00
	\$185,675.00
Note Payable, National City Bank, (Secured by Deposit of \$14,000.00 of City Club Bonds.)	14,000.00
Accounts Payable	2,809.91
Reserves:	
Dues Paid in Advance	\$1,820.00
Bond Interest Accrued	3,867.49
Income Tax Withheld	101.50
Surplus	5,788.99
	9.14

Income and Expenses for the Year Ended March 31st, 1917.

EXPENSES

Fixed Charges:

Leasehold Ground Rent	\$10,150.00	
Taxes	5,610.18	
Fire and Employers' Liability Insurance.....	398.76	
Interest on Bonds and Loans.....	10,065.27	
		<u>\$26,224.21</u>

Building Maintenance and House Expense:

House Employees' Wages	\$10,400.16	
House Employees' Meals	2,280.00	
Electric Power	1,650.75	
Electric Light	765.26	
Fuel	1,335.40	
Building Repairs, Etc.	596.57	
Uniforms	72.76	
General House Expense	1,202.10	
Laundry	778.63	
		<u>19,081.63</u>

Administrative Expenses:

Office Salaries	\$ 4,732.76	
Stationery and Printing	1,228.89	
Postage	970.82	
Telephone	1,007.81	
Newspapers and Periodicals	296.10	
Premiums on Surety Bonds.....	78.00	
Entertainment	249.62	
Membership Extension Expense	990.87	
General Expense	458.77	
Membership in Organizations	15.00	
Art Exhibit	59.57	
		<u>10,088.61</u>

Departmental Accounts:

Restaurant, Operating Loss	\$ 3,538.43	
Add, Depreciation on Equipment:		
Kitchen Equipment	600.00	
Crockery and Utensils	936.93	
Linen	704.65	
		<u>\$ 5,780.01</u>
Total Loss, Restaurant		
Profit on Cigars	\$ 527.59	
Profit on Billiards	335.82	863.41
		<u>4,916.60</u>

Club House Depreciation:

Furniture and Fixtures	\$ 1,080.00	
House Linen	90.00	
		<u>1,170.00</u>

Christmas Fund:

Distribution amongst Employees	1,738.82	
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Public Work:

Provided from General Fund:

Miscellaneous:

Salaries of Civic Secretary and Assistants.....	\$4,539.73	
Sundry Expenses	3,046.45	
Symposium	275.07	
Bulletin	2,151.65	
Library	663.99	
		<u>\$10,676.89</u>

Provided by Special Contributions:

Quarter Section Publication	\$ 49.72	
Terminal Publication	1.14	
Housing Exhibit Publication	1,275.67	
Publication Fund	5.24	
Neighborhood Center Study and Publication.....	5.59	
School Survey Fund	486.50	
North Side City Planning Study Fund.....	77.25	
Chamber Music Fund.....	376.02	
		<u>2,277.13</u>
		<u>12,954.02</u>
		<u>\$76,173.89</u>

INCOME

Members' Dues	\$51,799.14
Rents Receivable	4,201.08
Profit on Rental of Stereopticon	56.21
Profit on Umbrella Rentals	3.40
Christmas Fund	1,738.82
Donations transferred to cover Expenditures per Contra.	
General Contributions to Public Work	5,183.83
Special Contribution to Specific Items of Public Work to Cover Expenditures as per Contra	2,277.13
Special Fees, Services of Mr. George Hooker	225.00
Loss for the Year	10,689.28
Carried to Deficiency Account.	
	<hr/>
	\$76,173.89

Surplus Account for the Year Ended March 31st, 1917.

CHARGES

Balance April 1st, 1916	\$16,896.85
Dues for the year 1913-14, 1914-15, 1915-16, written off	\$1,975.00
Less: Reserve to Cover Loss on Unpaid Dues at March 31st, 1916	\$1,329.70
Recoveries on Dues, previously written off	116.00
	<hr/>
	1,445.70
	529.30
Loss for the Year Ended March 31st, 1917	10,689.28
Balance March 31st, 1917	9.14
	<hr/>
	\$28,124.57

CREDITS

Special Fund	\$24,305.00
Deficiency Fund	1,239.57
Initiation Fees	2,580.00
Appropriated to Cover Deficiency for Year Ended March 31st, 1917.	
	<hr/>
	\$28,124.57

Departmental Accounts for the Year Ended March 31st, 1917.

CHARGES

CREDITS		Restaurant	
Receipts from Members and Banquets.....	\$47,582.85	Provisions Used	\$28,637.02
Guests and Symposium	2,086.95	Kitchen Wages	9,170.85
Employees' Meals	2,280.00	Kitchen Expense	1,730.55
		Dining Room Wages.....	10,440.12
		Dining Room Expense.....	2,297.85
		Managers Salary (Proportion).....	1,620.00
		Cashier's Salary (Proportion).....	1,146.67
		Electric Light (Proportion).....	445.17
			<u>55,488.23</u>

Operating Loss for the Year Before Considering Depreciation of Equipment\$ 3,538.43

—————\$51,949.80

Cigars

Stock Used	\$4,346.69
Wages	594.97
Cigarette License	100.00
	<u>5,041.66</u>

Receipts from Members.....\$ 5,569.25

Profit for the Year.....\$ 527.59

Billiard Room

Wages of Attendant.....	\$ 445.00
Supplies	98.68
	<u>543.68</u>

Receipts from Members.....\$ 879.50

Profit for the Year.....\$ 335.82

Auditor's Certificate

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) H. H. ROCKWELL, Treasurer.

We hereby certify that we have audited the Books of Account and Vouchers of the City Club of Chicago for the year ended March 31st, 1917, and that in our opinion the foregoing statements of Assets and Liabilities, Income and Expenses and Departmental Accounts accurately exhibit the Club's financial condition as at March 31st, 1917, and the result of its operation during the year ended that date. A detailed report showing the Contributions to the Special Funds has been submitted to the Directors as of even date.

ERNEST RECKITT & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

April 17th, 1917.

THE MEAT SUPPLY AND THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

By Howard R. Smith

"The European war is not entirely to blame for the prevailing high prices of our food products," said Professor Howard R. Smith, in his address before the City Club at luncheon March 10th. In his opinion the public is too prone to overlook other contributory causes which have played no small part in increasing the cost of living in America. Professor Smith, who is an authority on the live stock industry, was for a number of years Dean of the Bureau of Animal Industry in the State Agricultural College of Nebraska and later occupied a similar position in the University of Minnesota. He has just recently been engaged by the Live Stock Exchange of Chicago to promote the live stock industry in the West. Professor Smith addressed the club as follows:

"In treating this question I realize that I am directing my remarks chiefly to men engaged in mercantile business and to city professional men. While you may not be interested in technical agriculture you are vitally interested in the present status of one of the greatest productive industries in the United States which has its chief center in Chicago and upon which this city depends for much of its prosperity. I take it too that some of you at least have not yet reached that state of financial independence that would make you indifferent to the high cost of living.

The Prevailing High Prices

"The best grades of fat hogs and sheep sold on the Chicago market this week for 15 cents per pound live weight—record prices for both classes of animals. Beef cattle sold this week as high as 12½ cents per pound, a higher level than had ever been reached before for cattle of the same grade. While these prices on live animals will force still higher the prices we as consumers have been paying for our pork roasts, mutton chops, beef steaks and other cuts, our complaint cannot be confined to the high cost of meats for certain other staple articles of food are relatively higher. For example we are paying 85 cents per pack for potatoes, equivalent to \$5.66 per

hundred pounds. Potatoes are 79 per cent water, so the dry substance of potatoes—mostly starch—is costing us 27 cents per pound. While the dry matter of meat is costing an average of 40 cents per pound the fat portion has a heat value 2¼ times as great as the starch of potatoes and the lean substance also has a much higher nutritive value.

"Cabbage now costing us 12 cents per pound is 90 per cent water. We are paying for the dry substance of this food \$1.20 per pound.

"To what extent the increased volume of money in circulation has raised prices on all kinds of live stock as well as on all other commodities, it is difficult to say, though we do know it has been a large factor. Regardless of these facts meat of all kinds is abnormally high at the present time and its purchase is exceedingly difficult for many who really need it in their dietary for greatest efficiency. It is high because certain unusual conditions affecting the live stock industry in particular have prevailed during recent years and have curtailed production very materially. A period of high prices was the natural result beginning in 1913, before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. It is to some of these conditions to which I wish to call your attention.

Stock Raising on the Range

"For many years previous to a decade ago the semi-arid lands in the West furnished free range for countless herds of cattle and sheep. They could be reared so cheaply on land having then little or no market value that the farmers in the East and Middle West could hardly compete. The industry automatically adjusted itself to a system whereby the greater part of the beef cattle and sheep were raised on the range, many of which were fattened cheaply on the grass there. Others were finished in the middle west on relatively cheap corn produced at that time. Dairying and hog raising were confined to the farms.

"By 1900 the arable land of the country was nearly all occupied and there began the encroachment of the settler upon

the grazing lands of the West, much of which was thought suitable for cattle and sheep raising only. In this short period there has come about a great change in that part of our country. On those broad plains, where fifteen years ago cattle and sheep grazed in immense herds and flocks, we now see great fields of small grain, mostly wheat, grown under dry farming methods. Cattle and sheep raising during these more recent years has been confined almost entirely to the Government Forest Reserves and other rougher portions of the country.

Decreased Production of Livestock

"As would be expected the number of cattle and sheep in the United States declined rapidly. Estimates compiled by the Department of Agriculture show a decrease of 40 per cent in the number of range cattle in the United States from 1907 to 1913, and a decrease of 30 per cent for the beef cattle of the entire country. There was a decline of 7 per cent in the number of sheep and 7 per cent in the number of hogs during that period. The number of dairy cattle remained almost constant.

"The average price of native beef steers at the Chicago market for the year 1899, was \$5.30 per hundred. It was exactly the same for the year 1906. Since then with the exception of the year 1910, the increase in price each succeeding year has been regular until 1914 when the average price on that class of beef was \$8.65 per hundred for the year. During the year 1915, the average price of native steers was \$8.40, during 1916, \$9.50, and this week native steers are bringing an average of \$10.75. Sheep and hogs have shown a still greater advance in price.

"The increase of 50 per cent in the price of beef cattle on the Chicago market for the year 1907 to 1914, seems entirely reasonable in view of the decrease of 30 per cent in the number of such cattle in the country and the increase of 14 per cent in our population during that period.

"The transformation of much of what was formerly free range into farming land was done so quickly and the decline in cattle was so rapid that the country could not adjust itself through increased production on our farms. A restocking

of herds has begun however and is showing itself by recent statistics which indicate an increase of 11 per cent in the number of beef cattle in the United States from January 1st, 1914 to January 1st, 1917, an increase of 9 per cent in milk cows, 14 per cent in hogs, but a further decline of 3 per cent in the number of sheep. These figures represent an average increase of about 4 per cent a year in cattle and hogs, our chief source of meat, whereas population has been increasing but 2 per cent each year. It would seem therefore that prices should now be lower than in 1914, and they probably would be lower were it not for another abnormal situation which suddenly developed the latter part of the year 1914—the war in Europe, which called for the exportation of great quantities of meat which would have otherwise remained in this country.

Increase in Export Trade

"According to official records our exports of meats and meat products have increased more than 400 per cent since 1914. This large increase in our export trade came at a time when our live stock industry was just beginning to recover from a depleted condition. Our increase in the number of cattle and hogs during the past three years as shown by Government statistics and the larger quantity of meats put out by our packing plants during the past two years has all been absorbed by this increased export trade. Our population has been increasing and what is perhaps a still greater factor, our factories are running full time, wages are high and the demand of our own people for meat even at exorbitant prices continues unabated.

Light Grain Crop Raised Prices

"While this recent increase in our exports of meat has been a factor in reducing the supply for home consumption, it is not the chief cause of the record breaking prices we are now witnessing on cattle, hogs and sheep. It is rather, a light grain crop produced in the United States and in many other countries during the past season.

"Our corn crop in 1916 was 14 per cent less than in 1915, and 5 per cent less than the average for the five years preceding, namely 1910 to 1914 inclusive.

In 1916 the wheat crop was 37 per cent less than the 1915 crop and 12 per cent less than the average for the five years preceding.

"The small grain crop in the Northwest was cut down one-half last fall by a black rust, a fungus disease caused by an unusual period of hot moist weather. The heavy foreign demand coupled with the light crop sent wheat skyward. Corn naturally followed and the stock men of the country were forced to curtail feeding operations. Many discontinued entirely. Thousands of cars of pigs were sent to market last fall that would have been doubled in weight had corn been more reasonable in price. Cattle have been going into abattoirs this winter that would have ordinarily gone to the corn belt feeding lots. They have been lighter in weight and the dressing percentage has been lower, reducing still further the volume of dressed beef.

Live Stock Depleted by Disease

"Contagious diseases among our cattle and hogs have done much damage to our live stock industry. During the fall of 1914 we had a sudden outbreak of foot and mouth disease, which spreads like wild fire unless drastic measures are used in its control. You are all familiar with the havoc produced in our herds by that outbreak, which was the worst in our history.

"The disease which is today doing more damage to the cattle and hog industry in the middle West than all others combined is tuberculosis. This disease may be likened to a smouldering fire. It affects cattle and hogs in most instances without any external indications of disease. The tuberculin test may be applied and is exceptionally reliable in determining the presence of tuberculosis in the animal. Its application is not general except in the case of pure bred cattle for inter-state shipment and in some dairy herds where the owner is desirous of furnishing milk and dairy products of the best and most wholesome quality. Many states have enacted certain laws for the better control of this disease. As yet no great progress has been made in this direction. The disease has proven to be a great menace to the live stock industry and to a certain extent to public health.

"The loss from condemned cattle and hogs at the Chicago market last year was in round numbers \$1,500,000.00. The U. S. Department of Agriculture estimates that the annual loss occasioned by this disease is approximately \$20,000,000.00.

Government Inspection of Meat

"No one need hesitate to eat the meat prepared in our packing plants where government inspection is maintained as every animal is subjected to a most rigid post mortem examination, and if the disease has advanced to a certain stage such carcasses are used in the preparation of fertilizing material and other inedible products. The greatest need is legislation requiring the pasteurization of all milk and dairy products, as the principal source of infection among hogs is raw milk from creameries where perhaps but a few cows in the community have the disease.

"It has been proven that approximately 25 per cent of the tuberculosis among children is caused by the introduction of the bovine bacillus found in raw milk. The city of Chicago requires the pasteurization of all milk. It should be a practice in all sections where this disease is present, at least until such time as it can be eradicated from our herds which need not require more than a few years if proper legislation is enacted and better sanitation is put in practice on our farms.

No Immediate Hope for Lower Prices

"When will relief come to the consumer from this period of high prices. Perhaps not until next fall, and then only with a favorable season for grass. If peace were to be declared in Europe next week it would hardly result in lower prices here because many of the herds of breeding cattle over there have been completely annihilated, and several years may be required for reconstruction. The closing of our munition factories might, however, lessen home consumption of meat and give some relief.

"We are almost certain to see a big pig crop next spring, and a good crop of corn and small grain will surely increase the volume of beef and pork next winter. The most encouraging thing

about our future beef supply is the rapid rebuilding of our cattle herds in the western states—the small herds of the settlers rather than those of the large operators. We still have an abundance of land for live stock production. The Northwest alone could have three times as much live stock as it now has if more land were devoted to the growing of corn and other forage crops and less devoted to wheat. The expansion of the live stock industry would reduce the wheat area, but not necessarily the total production of this cereal, for live stock and forage crops mean greatly increased

yields of grain per acre through added fertilization.

"The greatest need on our American farms today is more labor. We cannot expect to equal the yields of European countries without more help on the farm. Our annual production is excellent considering the labor now available. If more people in our congested cities would go to the country there would be less complaining about the high cost of living. Not many years ago, one-half of our population in the United States was rural, now it is less than one-third. There are too many consumers for the number of producers."

THE REFERENDUM PROHIBITION BILL

By E. J. Davis, Fletcher Dobyns, Charles A. Windle

The wet and dry issue in the State Legislature was the subject of discussion before the City Club at luncheon, March 14th and 15th. Mr. E. J. Davis, Chicago district superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League and Mr. Fletcher Dobyns presented the arguments in favor of prohibition, while Mr. Charles A. Windle, editor of The Iconoclast, stated the case from the point of view of the saloon interests.

The Referendum Prohibition bill, which was introduced into the Legislature by Senator Wood, passed the Senate on February 13, but was defeated in the House, March 28, by a vote of 80 to 67. The bill was designed to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, except for medicinal, sacramental, chemical, mechanical or manufacturing purposes throughout the state and provided for a referendum thereon at the regular election in November, 1918.

The addresses were in brief as follows:

E. J. Davis

"The question of what to do with alcohol is a tremendous one, reaching out in many directions. The pathological, economic, sociological and political effects of alcohol are wide-reaching and each must be given due consideration if we are to understand the issue involved in this fight against the liquor interests.

Physiological Effects of Alcohol

"The physiological effects of alcohol are far better understood than they were

a generation ago. Medical science has now well established the fact that alcohol is a poison, slow acting, but nevertheless, a real poison even when used in moderate quantities. Many think that alcohol is a stimulant and that after a moderate indulgence they can do more effective work. This assumption has been shown to be absolutely without foundation. No matter what the work be, physical or mental, it can be done far more efficiently when a man has no alcohol in his system. The idea prevails in some quarters that it is only the strong drinks which are dangerous and that the lighter liquors, such as wine and beer, are not really harmful. This position is assailed by both historic experiences and by scientific authorities. Careful investigations have made clear that even these lighter drinks are harmful. The wine drinking in France and Italy and the beer drinking in Germany have been held up to us as examples of indulgence in liquor drinking which have not produced evil effects, but this is far from true.

Alcohol Decreases Efficiency

"From the economic point of view, it is now realized that alcohol is one of the serious evils we are facing today. Those who are leaders in our industrial life have become convinced that alcohol decreases both the skill and endurance of those who indulge in it. Employers have long noted the large number of accidents and the inefficient work done by the drinking portion of their em-

ployees on Monday. A survey by the Zurich Building Trades from 1900-1906 revealed the fact that three accidents occurred on Monday to two on other days. This increase in accidents and the decrease in the efficiency of workmen is now so generally recognized that many factories and railroads do not permit their employees to drink liquor either while on or off duty.

"Tests conducted by military authorities have shown that soldiers who have indulged in a slight amount of beer cannot shoot as accurately and do not have the physical endurance that they have when free from alcohol. Tests in target shooting in the Swedish Army showed that of thirty shots fired in quick succession on non-drinking days an average of 24 hit the mark, while on drinking days there was an average of only 3 hits out of 30 shots. On drinking days $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 pints of 5 per cent beer were taken 20 to 30 minutes before shooting. On non-drinking days an average of 360 shots were fired before exhaustion, while on drinking days 278 shots were fired before exhaustion.

The Saloon in Politics

"When we approach the political effects of alcohol we can easily see what a far reaching influence it has over the welfare of our nation. The liquor interests have long felt the necessity of possessing the controlling power in our elections. For many years they have dominated the legislative branches of the government. The fight of the Anti-Saloon League has been to wrest this control of the legislative branch of the government away from them and to give to the people enabling legislation in order to permit the people themselves to determine whether or not they want the licensed saloons to continue.

"One of our handicaps in winning the fight for fair representation in the Legislature is having to work in districts laid out seventeen years ago. On account of the sparseness of population in the outlying districts of Chicago, many of them were made very large territorially. As the city has grown year by year the suburban districts have filled up and more and more of the temperance element has moved out into these outlying districts

so that radical inequalities exist at the present time.

"For instance, the Seventeenth Senatorial District, having a solid wet delegation in the Legislature has a registered vote of 7,985, the Englewood District has 47,105, the Lakeview District 47,591, the Ravenswood, and other outlying districts, about the same.

"The district from which Tom Curran comes has a solid wet delegation. There are only 11,181 registered voters. In these wet districts there is one representative for an average of about 4,000 voters while in the dry district there is one representative for an average of about 15,000 voters.

"This makes a handicap in two ways. It not only pockets the temperance vote in large districts, but makes it necessary to carry on organization work on a very large scale in order to reach such great masses of voters.

"The same situation prevails in the fight for better representation in the City Council. Most of the wards are in the congested districts. Conditions were so bad in 1911 that the smallest ward, the old 19th on the west side, had only 4,320 registered voters with two wet aldermen. The wet ward had one councilman for each 2,160 voters, while the dry ward had one councilman for 11,006 voters. There was a redistricting of the wards on December 4th, 1911, but as the wets controlled the Council they did not improve the situation very much. The first registration after redistricting showed the smallest wet ward to have 5,558 voters while the largest dry ward had 18,995 voters. It also showed that the 17 wettest wards had a registered vote of 164,006 while the 17 best wards had a registered vote of 273,418. This inequality has increased since 1912 so that today the 17 wettest wards have a registered vote of 256,800, and the 17 best wards have a registered vote of 524,188. In our opinion this situation forms one of the strong arguments why the state of Illinois should not surrender to the city councils its control over moral questions.

Indifference to Primaries

"Another feature which makes it exceedingly difficult to gain control of the Legislature upon this question is the

indifference of the great mass of respectable voters to the primaries. It seems to be difficult for the people to learn that the members of the Legislature are practically elected at the primaries instead of at the general election. The general election only ratifies the work done at the primaries.

"Take one district which is typical of all. In the Thirty-first Senatorial District the three successful nominees in 1914 were nominated by a total of 34,033 voters while 30,926 registered voters did not go to the polls. Altogether in that primary 312,339 registered voters did not vote. On the other hand the liquor interests are active and get to the polls substantially their following. The reason why we have now eight saloon keepers from Chicago in the Legislature is because the best people of our community fail to do their duty at the polls. The ward machines in our city are mainly controlled by the United Societies and liquor interests; they can always be counted upon to oppose progress and stand in the way of any reform measures that may be brought forward.

Outlook for the Future

"When we look, however, at the general situation here in Illinois we have every reason for encouragement. Out of 1,430 townships in the state only 190 are now in the wet column and the majority of these wet townships are in that part of the state nearest St. Louis, Peoria and Chicago. In spite of the fact that the largest portion of our state is in favor of prohibition we are not asking our legislators now to declare themselves either for or against prohibition. The purpose of the Referendum Bill now before the Legislature is to secure the right of the people of this state to vote upon this question—we want the matter referred to the people as a whole. The real question at issue then in the Legislature is whether the liquor interests, or the people, are the controlling influence upon the members.

"In the nation 26 states have adopted state wide prohibition and 14 other states are very close to the time when they also will adopt state wide prohibition. The amendment to the constitution will most likely be submitted by the next Congress and when ratified by 36 states

it will give us complete national prohibition."

Fletcher Dobyns

No Compromise with Liquor

In the history of every battle for the right, a stage is reached when it is clear that a compromise is out of the question. For more than half a century the people of the United States have waged a battle against liquor. This struggle has continued to grow in extent and severity until now more than one-half our nation is dry. It has become clear that we have reached the stage when this battle against liquor is irrepressible. There can be no thought of a truce or even of a compromise. We must either win a complete victory or surrender to the saloon interests which have always arrayed themselves against the side of law and order. The question is no longer a debatable one among our most intelligent people. The best element in our nation has decreed that the saloon must be destroyed. Past experience has taught us that half way measures are useless. The saloon cannot be reformed and made over into a useful institution. The time has come for us to wipe out the traffic in liquor which has been such a great curse to so many people.

Growing Sentiment Against Saloon

It is remarkable what a great increase there has been within recent years in the sentiment against the saloon. The great mass of the better class of people are becoming more pronounced in their opposition to alcohol. This was by no means the case in the early stages of the prohibition movement. It was formerly quite generally believed that alcohol was a food and that used in moderation it could not be injurious. Drinking was looked upon as a matter of course and but few voices were raised in protest against the liquor traffic.

Among the factors that have helped to bring about this change in attitude toward alcohol, one of the most outstanding is the thorough investigation of the real effects of liquor by men trained in medical science. The results of their investigation have made clear that alcohol is injurious even when used in moderation and that the claim put forward that alcohol has value as a food, has

no scientific standing whatever. More than this, science has pointed out in unmistakable terms the degenerating influence of alcohol on the body, mind and will. It paralyzes the higher nerve centers, lessens endurance, and weakens the will. When to this is added the well known fact of its habit forming tendency, its menace to human welfare becomes all the more clear. It takes no great effort of the imagination to picture the thousands who are such slaves to drink that they are unable to break the habit that is ruining their lives and making them a menace to society.

Injurious Effects of Alcohol

Another step forward in the fight against alcohol was taken when the industrial world discovered that drink interfered with economic efficiency. Employers found that the complicated machinery now in use could not be safely handled by men who indulged in drink. Modern business demands men who can think clearly and who have entire control of all their powers. Railways were among the first large employers of labor to refuse to employ men who are accustomed to drink. The safe and efficient conduct of their business made this step imperative. More and more, other lines of business are adopting the same standards. From the industrial standpoint the debate is closed. It is now only a question of time when all manufacturers will insist upon total abstinence for all their employees.

When we turn to the social point of view, the case against liquor is especially strong. It is now generally recognized that drink is one of the great causes of poverty. Sufficient evidence has been collected to show the close connection between poverty and the saloon. Indulgence in drink, moreover, leads a man not only to neglect his own family, but also causes him to sink into vice and crime. It destroys moral inhibitions and unleashes the brute within man. The influence of the saloon is to tear down society and to bring misery and suffering in its wake.

All who are familiar with politics are fully aware of the evil of the political control of the wet element in our communities. The saloon interests usually manage to have such control of the ward

machines that it is almost impossible to push through by popular vote measures that would curtail the power of the liquor traffic. Many of the best men in our community are deterred from running for office because they know that they must either be dominated by the liquor element or be subjected to humiliating treatment when they dare to oppose the liquor interests. For 25 years we have seen this going on in our city. The saloon men stand at the gateway of politics and see that their agents have control of the important offices in our local government.

The Saloon and Crime

Whatever may be said in extenuation of the evil effects of liquor drinking, nothing can be said in favor of the saloon as it exists today. Commercialized vice centers around the saloon. Our criminals, pickpockets, gamblers and other undesirable members of society make the saloon their headquarters. The saloon caters to these classes of people and tries to protect their interests and enables them to carry forward their work without molestation. Nothing can be said in justification of an institution that lines up with all that is evil in the community.

This evil state of affairs is now coming more clearly to the attention of the public. We have reached the same stage in the prohibition movement that was reached in the slavery movement in our country in 1860. The time has come when action cannot be longer delayed. The public is realizing that now is the time to strike in order to throw off the shackles of misgovernment that have so long impeded the progress of our country.

The liquor interests are beginning to feel that the fight is going against them. They are afraid to allow the issue to be put plainly to the people. When I recently asked a member of the State Legislature to vote for the Referendum Prohibition Bill, he replied that he could not support the measure since he was sent to the Legislature by a wet constituency who fear that if the question is submitted to the people, the saloon is doomed.

The people of this state ought to be given the right to vote on this impor-

tant question. We do not want to see our state be the last to fall in line and finally be forced to have prohibition by action of the Federal government. Let us be one of the leaders in this movement to destroy one of the great curses of our country.

Charles A. Windle

"Yesterday you listened to arguments in favor of the state-wide prohibition bill now pending in the Illinois Legislature. I appear before you for the purpose of stating the case against prohibition. You were told that this fight is about over. In my opinion it has just started. You were told that the jury in the case is ready to render a verdict and that it is too late to debate the question. The dries take a very hopeful view of the situation, but overlook the fact that only one side of the case has really been heard. For every word that has been uttered and printed in favor of the beverage liquor traffic, a thousand words have been spoken and published in favor of prohibition. Justice demands that each side be given an equal chance to be heard before calling for a verdict.

Temperance Not Prohibition

"The dries have had the platform for many years and have convinced thousands of people that prohibition and temperance mean the same thing. As a matter of fact these terms stand for opposite ideas and represent antagonistic principles.

"Temperance has to do with your control of yourself. It is right. Prohibition has to do with the other fellow's control of you. It is wrong.

"Temperance is self-imposed and self-enforced. Prohibition is imposed by the other fellow without your consent, in spite of your protest, and enforced with a policeman's club.

"Temperance implies and permits use in moderation. Prohibition would forbid use even in moderation. Therefore, if temperance is right, prohibition is wrong. When two principles are diametrically opposed, both cannot be right. We are opposed to this bill—opposed to prohibition—because we believe in temperance. No argument for temperance can apply

to prohibition. No argument against drunkenness can be applied to drink.

Opposed to Drunkenness

"The only argument made by the dries worthy any man's consideration is the argument against drunkenness. I care not how strong you make that argument, I will endorse it.

"I will also endorse any argument you make against lying, gluttony or forgery, but I object when you try to apply the argument against lying to speech, or the argument against gluttony to food, or the argument against forgery to education. On the same ground I object when you apply the argument against drunkenness to drink.

Insanity and Drink

"The demand for this bill rests upon the fallacy that 70 per cent of insanity is due to drink. Prohibition statistics invented to bolster up this contention are worthless. They rest upon no reliable official record. The medical fraternity recognize four types of insanity: dementia praecox, maniac depressive insanity, paranoia and paresis. The cause of the first three cannot be determined and everybody knows that drink is not responsible for paresis.

"They abolished the beverage liquor traffic in Kansas more than 30 years ago, but its abolition did not stop the spread of insanity. In a recent report of the Kansas Board of Control, pages 14 and 15, we find the statement that 'there is always a large waiting list of destitute insane in each county and when the state cannot accept them on account of no room, the county farms them out until the state institutions can take them.' Now had the board of control said there was now and then a large list or that the list was small instead of large, that this large waiting list of destitute insane is found in a few counties only instead of each county the dries might find some comfort or ground for their contention. But in view of this report the idea that the liquor traffic is principally responsible for insanity is utterly absurd.

Poverty and Drink

"This bill also rests upon the assumption that '80 per cent of poverty is due to drink, and that abolition of the bever-

age liquor traffic would practically abolish poverty.' Nothing could be more ridiculous. Ill health, lack of employment and low wages cause most of the poverty in the world. The difference between the wage earners' income and the cost of living leaves no margin for a rainy day. If they were to lose their jobs tonight, in 30 days, 90 per cent of the wage earners of America would be on the starvation line. Instead of drink being the cause of poverty, poverty is largely responsible for excessive drinking among the working class. Upton St. Clair once asked a question which I want to submit for your consideration. He asked, 'If you were in hell wouldn't you get drunk if you could?' Blot hope from a man's life; fill it with despair, bind him to the mill of drudgery without opportunity to rise and he is liable to drink to excess in order to forget his wretchedness and poverty. Abolish poverty and you will practically abolish drunkenness among wage earners.

Is Crime Due to Drink?

"The demand for this bill also rests upon the ridiculous fallacy that '90 per cent of crime is due to the liquor business.' This they contend despite the fact that 90 per cent of crime can be traced directly or indirectly to greed, jealousy, lust and revenge. I spent nearly a month in Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, studying criminal records of the world. Here I discovered three important facts.

"First: Forty-six per cent of all criminals were abandoned in childhood.

"Second: Seventy-nine per cent of all criminals have no trade or profession.

"Third: Seventy-five per cent of all crimes are committed by people between the ages of 12 and 23, before the habit of drink is formed. These records show that if you take a hundred thousand people between the ages of 12 and 23, and a hundred thousand people between the ages of 23 and 40 the older crowd will drink 20 times more liquor and the younger crowd will commit 20 times more crime in the same period of time. This is due to the conceit of youth. Lack of judgment makes a youth believe that he can commit crime and outwit every Sherlock Holmes on earth. The older

person may drink more but he knows better.

"Last year Atlanta, Georgia, had three times as many murders per 100,000 of population as Chicago. Atlanta abolished the 'cause of crime' many years ago while Chicago has over 7,000 saloons. The police records show that, with prohibition, Memphis had 60 murders last year for each 100,000 of population, while in Milwaukee, a city wet as a river, they had less than four.

"United States Census Bulletin, No. 121, gives a list of empty jails throughout the United States on January 1st, 1910. Kansas had 41 empty jails on that day, wet Illinois had 61, and in prohibition Maine there was not a single empty jail. These records flatly contradict the prohibition contention as to the cause of crime and its abolition by the destruction of the liquor traffic.

Liquor Traffic Not Evil

"This bill also rests upon the fallacy that 'the liquor traffic is evil.' Prohibition orators and writers invent hell fire terms in which to damn but never define the liquor traffic. The liquor traffic consists in manufacturing beer, wine and whiskey, selling it to people who want it and delivering the goods by freight and express. Manifestly there can be no evil in the art or the act of manufacturing, sale or transportation, therefore, the liquor traffic is not evil. The evil associated with this business is personal and found only under the hat of the man who drinks to excess. The guilt is personal and cannot be charged to the traffic itself. When a man gets drunk it is not the fault of the traffic but the man's fault. Before any man could prove that prohibition is right he would have to demonstrate that the beverage liquor traffic is evil. This is impossible.

Law Not a Remedy

"This bill also rests upon the fallacy that 'law can be made a remedy for intemperance.' To make law a remedy it would have to be enforced against the drinker and not the maker or seller. Such a law would require constant repression or absolute despotism. Your government would have to be strong enough to place one man with a club

over another and keep him there all the time. If you watched him during the day and not at night he would get drunk in the night. If you watched him today and not tomorrow he would get drunk tomorrow. If you watched him this week and not next he would be drunk all next week. If you want prohibition you must welcome absolute despotism. Can you confine the action of despotism to the drink question? Once established, will it not be directed against other rights? Once established nothing can prevent despotism from trampling upon all the rights of humanity.

"Total abstinence and moderation are the only two remedies for intemperance but before either can become a personal virtue it must be self-imposed and self-enforced.

Science and Prohibition

"The demand for this prohibition measure rests also upon the fallacy that 'science has rendered a verdict against the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage.' Sixty-two leading members of the great physiological congress which met at Cambridge, England, in 1898 went on record in a signed statement against the prohibition idea. They were the most eminent scientists of the world. As a matter of fact scientists disagree on this question the same as other people, and this is due to the further fact that no verdict has actually been reached. In his address to the Contemporary Club of Philadelphia, Hugo Munsterberg, of Harvard, stated the case when he said: 'Dr. Williams of New York, tells us that alcohol is never a food, and Dr. Dana of New York, President of New York Academy of Medicine tells us that alcohol is always a food.'

"Counting the scientists who have gone on record against the prohibition idea with the vast majority of medical leaders who have remained silent and the weight of authority against prohibition is more than 50 to 1.

Prohibition Immoral

"Prohibition is an immoral proposition, which neither majorities nor prayers can make right. Principles are eternal and unchangeable. They cannot be made to conform to man's ignorance or prejudice. Prohibition would destroy the investments and the business of liquor men without compensation. No power can make this right, because the principle of confiscation without compensation is exactly the same whether you apply it to bank property or brewery property, farm property or saloon property.

"Neither can the destruction of the liquor business be justified on the ground that we destroyed slavery without compensating the slave owner. There is a moral and legal difference between selling a willing man a drink and selling an unwilling man into bondage. There is a moral and legal difference between owning a case of beer and owning a human being as a chattel. Besides our government is in partnership with the liquor dealer, but was never in partnership with the slave dealer. The citizen, having put his money in this business under the sanction, protection and partnership of his government, is entitled to indemnity if this partnership is to be dissolved by the government. Prohibition is not only immoral, but un-American. It would substitute for principle, in the control of our political life, the whim of a majority. Majorities can no more alter a principle than they can change the point of the compass.

Destroys Equality of Rights

"Prohibition is also destructive of human equality. If our rights are equal then I have as much authority to command you to drink something you do not want as you have to forbid me to drink something I desire. If either of us yield to the other we sacrifice the equality of human rights. The principle of human equality is something we dare not give up, for upon it rests the foundation of our nation."



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The Legislature validates the tax levies for 1916. Why does it not validate those for 1915 also?

Is it because certain lawyers, including the Attorney-General, would thereby lose large contingent fees?

It is believed that the Fiftieth General Assembly of Illinois will protect its reputation by passing, as it still has time to do, the pending bills to validate the Cook County and the Chicago Sanitary District tax levies for 1915.

CITY CLUB DISCUSSION OF LEGISLATIVE SITUATION RESPECTING TAX VALIDATING BILLS

A limited number of large taxpayers fought successfully in the courts, on technical grounds, the 1915 Cook County and Chicago Sanitary District tax levies. About two million dollars was accordingly withheld. Curative bills to require payment are pending in the Legislature, but have failed thus far of favorable action.

The levies of these same bodies for 1916 are apparently open to a similar technical objection, but a curative bill for the sanitary district levy for 1916 has been passed by the Legislature and one for the county levy for 1916 has passed the House. No substantial reason appears to exist why the levies for 1915 should not be validated as well as those for 1916, except the fact that certain lawyers who have fought the 1915 levies would lose their contingent fees if these levies were validated.

This situation was discussed before the City Club at luncheon on June 5 by Robert M. Sweitzer, County Clerk.

Mr. Sweitzer said:

Robert M. Sweitzer

"There are two bills, popularly known as tax validating bills, before the Legislature. One pertains to the 1915 tax levy of Cook County and the other to the 1916 tax levy.

"In compliance with the law, the County Commissioners of Cook County, in the first quarter of 1915, passed an appropriation ordinance. This was not objected to in any way. It was published in the organ officially designated by the board as the medium of publicity for Cook County, a medium selected as required by law, by competitive bidding. In this particular instance, the lowest bidder was *The Illinois Staats-Zeitung*,

a paper published in Chicago, largely though not exclusively in the German language.

"I objected at the time to the *Staats-Zeitung* being designated as the means of publicity, because it was not printed altogether in the English language; but the State's Attorney held that this was not a valid objection and that its bid could be regarded.

"Shortly after we had extended all the taxes, a decision in one of the courts was handed down holding that the *Staats-Zeitung* was not a proper medium of publication for an appropriation or tax levy within the intent of the law. There immediately appeared on the scene a horde of objectors to our tax rates. They objected to every item included in the county appropriation on the ground of insufficient publication and to the sanitary district tax amounting to forty-two cents, for the same and for another reason, namely: that the ordinance had not been properly passed. They objected also to the forest preserve tax of one cent, alleging that publication was not in accordance with law. Finally, they objected to twelve cents of the city tax, not because of insufficient publication, but because they held that this amount should have been included within the \$1.10 arbitrary maximum fixed by the local law for corporate expenses in the City of Chicago.

"We found that a number of attorneys were getting a good many clients by offering, on contingent fees, to save them considerable money in the payment of their taxes. As a result, over four thousand objections were filed to the payment of taxes. Many of the big tax payers paid up, with the exception of \$1.14 of the tax rate. They protested on the payment of that amount. In these many thousands of objections that were presented to the county court, an almost uniform petition was filed.

"Every objection to full payment of the 1915 taxes was against the form of levying. The ingenuity of all the lawyers involved failed to raise a single valid objection to the substance of the tax. Nobody contended that any part of the money was to be expended for illegal or unauthorized purposes, or that any part of it had been improperly appropriated.

They squared the matter with their consciences by having a technical objection to fall back on.

"The case came up in the County Court. A judge competent and experienced in tax matters held that the publication in the *Staats-Zeitung* was sufficient within the intent and meaning of the act, and therefore found against the objectors. The objectors themselves might have been satisfied, but the attorneys with contingent fees apparently were not, because the matter went up to the Supreme Court.

"There were three attorneys for the county. Two of them were assistant state's attorneys, the other a former county attorney brought into the case because of his knowledge of tax matters. Singularly these three attorneys did not hold the same views regarding the case. Two of them believed a certain line of argument would win the case, the third held to a different line of argument. The judge told me subsequently that the line of thought advanced by this third attorney was the one on which the case was determined. I am not trying to impute bad faith to anybody, but, in any event, the gentleman whose argument won the case in the County Court, had nothing to do with the preparation of the brief that went to the Supreme Court and his line of argument was not presented to that body. The Supreme Court held for the objectors on a number of points—not altogether. At first it looked as if the county taxes would be shy about \$2,000,000. Subsequently, however, the court determined that there could be no attack on bonds and interest on bonds or on the payment of the salaries of constitutional officers. The amount that these objectors profited was, therefore, reduced to approximately \$700,000, which is the amount apparently at stake now.

"Under the decision of the Supreme Court, the only branches of the service that remained unprovided for were the eleemosynary and charitable institutions of Cook County, the unfortunates, the blind and sick, the mentally or physically deficient and the poor mothers for the support of whose children pensions are granted by the county. They are the real sufferers. In order that these tax evad-

ers may hold some of the money that is justly levied against their property they are denying food, clothing, medicine and care to thousands of the sick and poor.

"A bill was introduced in the Senate at Springfield to meet this condition. The provisions of this bill were retroactive so as to protect the county in its 1916 tax levy. It provided that insufficient publication should not be a valid objection to the payment of the tax. We had every reason to believe that, after we had turned the light on in the Judiciary Committee, to which the bill had been sent, that after we had informed them of the conditions existing among the dependents of the county and had pointed out that the objections were against the form of the tax and not its substance, they would, in the spirit of charity, if not as a matter of duty, support this bill.

"I was one of the committee that went to Springfield to further the interests of the bill. I wasn't in Springfield an hour before I discovered we had as much chance as the proverbial snowball. I was told that the chairman of the committee had recently formed a political alliance with a certain state official whose law firm had something like \$200,000 in contingent fees at stake. Contingent on what? On maintaining the present status of the case so far as the collection of these taxes is concerned. The gentlemen of the committee were very considerate, but they voted the other way. There wasn't a chance in the world to get the bill out.

"We introduced the bill into the house. The Judiciary Committee of the House voted it out with a recommendation that it do pass. It is still out and I think it will be 'out' until the Legislature closes. It will probably take the count of ten, for we found that the same powers, the same political agencies that throttled the bill in the Senate had been equally successful in their efforts in the House.

"Now, we were up against another proposition this year. We were told that these clever legal gentlemen who had found a way to help their tax-evading friends escape part payment of their 1915 taxes were going to be equally resourceful this year and find a weak spot in the publication of the 1916 taxes. The County Board, in its wonderful wis-

dom, to make sure that they would not get into a jam with the 1916 taxes, had designated the Daily Calumet, published in South Chicago, as the official medium of publication.

"We understood that objections would be advanced to the payment of the 1916 taxes, that this was not proper publication within the intent of the law. In order to anticipate this objection, the second bill, known as the 1916 bill, was introduced. I am told that the attorney-general of the state objected to the passage of the bill validating the 1915 taxes on a matter of principle; but I understand he is with the 1916 bill on a matter of principle. I don't see what the distinguishing difference in principle is. I would not be so unkind as even to suggest that it is because there are no contingent fees in this case.

"We have got a fair chance to pass the bill validating the 1916 tax levy."

MR. EDWARD M. MOORE: "I got the impression that it must be a large taxpayer who can afford to join in this objection. Could you give an approximation of what percentage of the levy has been uncollected and what percentage of the taxpayers are trying to evade payment?"

MR. SWEITZER: "Ninety-seven per cent of the tax payers paid in full. Included in that 97 per cent is practically every man whose taxes are limited to those on his home or his household goods. Three per cent—the big taxpayers, who have the means to protect themselves against over-taxation—did not pay their taxes.

"It will, of course, be necessary eventually to square accounts through taxation. This means that the 97 per cent, the humble, substantial citizens of the community, who paid their taxes in full, will be required to pay their pro rata of these taxes the second time.

"The aggregate amount of the county tax withheld was about 20 per cent of the whole levy."

A MEMBER: "The question naturally arises as to who it is that is holding up this legislation at Springfield. I wonder if Mr. Sweitzer can give us this information."

MR. SWEITZER: "You mean the firms of attorneys?"

THE MEMBER: "Yes."

MR. SWEITZER: "I wouldn't say that any firm of attorneys is holding up the matter in Springfield. It is the act of the legislators themselves that is holding the laws in abeyance. But what influences were successful in giving the legislators their present frame of mind is another matter."

"I can tell you what firms have the biggest amount of fees at stake, if that is what you want. I understand that one of the biggest firms is that of Brundage, Landon & Holt. I am told they have more at stake than any other firm."

MR. JOHN H. LYLE: "When Mr. Sweitzer was down at Springfield, I wondered why the City Club and other organizations were not there to throw their strength behind these bills. I have also wondered why the City Club was not there to back up the water power bill, which would furnish a million dollars gross worth of electricity for the City of Chicago."

"It is with a sense of burning indignation and shame that I stand before you and say that the Legislature is or will be practically disgraced if it does not pass these validating bills and the legislation for the power plant. It is just as Mr. Sweitzer says, there are men who are interested in those bills who would not let them go through the Legislature. One of the men who, according to his partner's statement, has an interest of about fifty or sixty thousand dollars in these fees, a former county attorney and state central committeeman, came to me and begged me to vote against this validating bill."

A MEMBER: "Who was that? Lewis?"

MR. LYLE: "I don't care to give any names. I wouldn't rise at this time if it weren't for the fact that I would like to see the City Club holding these meetings a little earlier. I am sure you could

come down and smoke out those fellows who are financially interested."

Mr. Sweitzer told of the various steps that he had taken to promote the passage of the bills. He then said:

MR. SWEITZER: "Another situation we found at Springfield is indicated in the objection which emanated from one of the members of the committee: 'Why should we help the democrats to get out of the hole that they got into?' That was the sentiment actuating some of the members of the committee."

George E. Hooker, Civic Secretary of the City Club said:

MR. HOOKER: "I want to say that my first intimation as to the real situation about these bills came to me last Monday. Within two hours the matter was under consideration and we have tried to arrange for some sort of publicity, steadily and continuously ever since. The difficulties encountered in that effort would take some little time to recount. The reasons why men who believe that these bills ought to be passed do not feel free to say so publicly will be perhaps appreciated when it is realized that no lawyer anywhere in the state wants to be *persona non grata* to the chief legal official of the state. Other people who have matters pending in the Legislature toward the end of the session do not wish to align opposition to their measures by opposing the wishes of people whose support they are courting. The difficulties in getting publicity for this measure, although its failure would seem to be a public scandal and outrage, are surprising. The bills had been under consideration by one of our committees, but apparently that committee had not been made aware of the real motives which seemed to have been operating against these bills. No member of the Legislature so far as I know has in any way solicited the assistance of the City Club heretofore in this matter."

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SYMPOSIUM—"AMERICA AT WAR"

America's part in the great world conflict, the historical background of her entrance into the war and her ideals and purposes in taking up arms were the subjects of six addresses at the City Club on the evenings of May 10 and May 17. These addresses were by members of the faculty of the University of Chicago and had been previously given as university lectures at that institution. The program of the two meetings was as follows:

May 10, 1917:

"The Threat of German World-Politics," Harry Pratt Judson. "American Democracy and World-Politics," Shailer Mathews. "The Passing of Splendid Isolation," Arthur P. Scott.

May 17, 1917:

"From Spectator to Participant," Andrew C. McLaughlin. "Democracy the Basis of a World-Order," Frederick D. Bramhall. "Civilization's Stake in the War," Paul Shorey.

These addresses, with the exception of that of Prof. Shorey, omitted at his own request, are printed in brief below:

THE THREAT OF GERMAN WORLD POLITICS

HARRY PRATT JUDSON

"The United States was driven into war with Germany by the deliberate campaign of piracy on the high seas inaugurated by the Imperial German Government at the beginning of February last. A government which does not protect the rights of its people on the high seas presently will have no rights left. Such a government will have, and will deserve, the contempt of the world.

"But being in the war we know that the submarine piracy is only an incident of more profound policies of piracy which are world wide and on which the German government has entered. In other words, Germany is engaged in a campaign, deliberately planned, to dominate the world and to seize for herself by force whatever of the things of others she may want. The war is then a war of self-defense on the part of the United States, and a war for the protection of the liberties of the democratic nations of the world.

"The German Empire is an enemy of the world by reason of its controlling forces, of its far-reaching criminal aims, and of its lawless methods. The controlling forces are its medieval autocratic system of government, its military caste, its industrial organization for world economic supremacy not by legitimate competition alone, but also by military force, and especially by the doctrine and policies of its Pan-German organization. The Pan-German propaganda has been industriously working now for a quarter century, deluging Germany with books, pamphlets, lectures and newspaper articles, and co-operating with the other controlling forces to direct the Imperial German policy towards world mastery. These forces are all interwoven with one another. We deceive ourselves if we think that the overthrow of the kaiser alone would destroy the danger from Germany. That danger will disappear only when Germany is completely defeated on land and sea, and when there are adequate securities to protect the world against a recurrence of the attack.

Next Thursday and Friday—Symposium on "War Finance."—See last page.

Mere treaties would be useless. The most solemn treaty obligations do not bind Germany.

"The aims of the German dark forces are to dominate the world, politically and commercially. The immediate objects are the mastery of Austria-Hungary, with its minority of Germans and Magyars and its subject races of Slavs and Latins, the subjection of the Balkan Slav peoples, with the Rumanians and Greeks as vassal states, the vassalage of Turkey under the forms of one alliance, and thus the creation of a strong military empire reaching from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf. The crushing of Russia and France would follow, with annexations and indemnities extorted which would reduce those nations to impotence. The seizing of the French Channel ports and of Belgium, with the probable union of Holland with the German Empire, and thus the acquisition of the rich Belgium and Dutch Colonies would easily lead to the destruction of the British Empire, and Germany would be the master of the richest parts of Africa and of Asia. German domination in South America has been planned carefully and the Zimmerman note is significant of the plot to dismember the United States, with doubtless a crushing indemnity added. These plans are not mere suspicion. They are openly avowed—the proof is conclusive.

"The German methods are force, lawlessness and intrigue. International law and treaties the German government disregards with cynical indifference. The world is covered with a network of German intrigue, aiming to use German immigrants for the primary interests of Germany and to use innocent pacifists to hamper any organized attempt to resist.

"There can be no enduring peace for the world until this vast scheme of universal piracy is crushed, whatever the cost."

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND WORLD POLITICS

SHAILER MATHEWS

If the Good Samaritan had gone down the road a little earlier and found the traveler beset by thieves, what would he have done? Would he have taken an

academic interest in the traveler's plight? Would he have seized the opportunity for personal profit? Would he have waited until the robbers had finished their job so that he might bind up the wounds? These questions were asked by Professor Mathews in his address at the City Club's War Symposium. "If a man is to embody the ideals of neighborliness," he said, "whatever the cost, he must undertake to rescue men from trouble." We have suddenly realized the necessity of helping our neighbors across the water, "that democracy must go to the aid of democracy."

Two great principles have operated in history, said Professor Mathews, democracy and autocracy. The conflict between democracy and autocracy has nowhere had a more tragic history than in Prussia. In Prussia during the Napoleonic period and throughout Germany from 1818 up till 1848 there was a liberal movement, but in 1848 came the revolution and liberalism and democracy were crushed in Europe. In Prussia a constitution was finally given, but in it the people were given practically no representation. "The war that we are fighting," Professor Mathews said, "is just as much for the liberalizing of the democratic mind of Germany as it is for any other part of the world. No people will gain more democratic rights from the defeat of the Central Powers than the German people."

In contrast to the crushing out of democracy in Prussia, Professor Mathews spoke of its rapid progress in America, England and France. There are some things, he stated, in the early conduct of our foreign affairs that do not conform to our democratic ideals of today—the efforts of some of our presidents before the Civil War to acquire Cuba, for instance, or the motives which led to our war with Mexico. But our present attitude toward Cuba and the Philippines and to China (as represented in the policy of the open door and the manner in which we handled the Boxer indemnity) and the arbitration treaties which we proposed before the war are evidences of a truly democratic idea in our international relations today.

Summing up the great modern conflict between the forces of democracy and autocracy, Professor Mathews said:

"The world cannot be half democratic and half autocratic any more than the United States could exist half free and half slave. There is an irrepressible conflict between these two great tendencies. Three years ago when we looked out upon the great world conflict, you know how our faith was strained. We saw the marvelously quick efficiency of the centralized and imposed government; and we asked ourselves whether we ourselves might not have been following the wrong lead. We do not ask ourselves this question today. We have almost an entire world possessed of representative government except those central powers that are fighting the rest of the world. . . . The storm and stress through which we have been passing in the last few years in order to get efficiency into our democracy does not mean that we want an overhead efficiency and are willing to surrender the power of individual initiative and freedom. Better be a little slow in getting into war than too quick because of an autocratic efficiency.

"There is another caution to be urged. We have no more right to enforce democracy upon Germany than Germany has to enforce her *Kultur* upon the rest of the world. Idealism cannot be put into life by the bayonet. You cannot make a man loving by pounding him on the top of his head. Neither can you make a nation democratic by military force. We are protecting democracy. We are not engaged in a democratic crusade. We are engaged in making the world safe for democracy, not to make the world subject to democracy. We believe there are tremendous forces at work in every nation of the world which will themselves release self-control and build up a self-administering government, when once autocracy is checked and defeated.

"I would rather fight a losing fight for democracy than a winning fight for autocracy. It is because I believe that we are thus in a way which really springs from our idealistic sympathies with the creative will of God that I believe we are justified in going into it. We hope, God helping us, that we are going to stop war by fighting. To some of us that sort of confession of faith has come hard. I believe a democracy at war is

democracy abused. It has been dragged from its high pedestal in the interest of self-protection. Its honor lies in its sacrifice.

"Let us, in these moments while we still are sane and able to judge idealistic values, determine that in this terrible struggle into which we enter, we shall never lose those ideals with which we enter it. Let us consecrate ourselves now to victory, and also to that better time which is to come, when fraternity shall be more than a rhetorical phrase, when democracy shall not only be a means of getting rights, but shall have become the giving of justice, and when the affairs of nations shall be settled by an appeal to the same moral basis as that to which we now appeal as we organize the rights of individuals."

THE PASSING OF SPLENDID ISOLATION

ARTHUR PEARSON SCOTT

America's abandonment of her long-settled policy of non-interference in the affairs of Europe and what this means to America and the world were the subject of the address by Professor Scott.

During our colonial history and subsequent to the revolution, the country was, he pointed out, involved in several European political entanglements, but by 1825 the principle of non-interference enunciated by Washington in his farewell address and elaborated by President Monroe in the Monroe Doctrine had become well established as an American political principle.

America's isolation was dictated by both geographical and political reasons. "It was obviously to our own self-interest," said Professor Scott, "that Europe should be kept from expanding in the new world, but mingling with considerations of interest went the generous enthusiasm for republican institutions and the glory and hope that the whole new world might become a great example of free government." On numerous occasions since the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine the United States has by word and deed reiterated that non-interference with the affairs of Europe is the policy of the American government.

In the meantime, however, "great changes have been taking place in the world at large, changes which by the opening of the twentieth century placed the United States in a new situation with regard to the world affairs." The expansion of Europe, both by the conquest of alien undeveloped territories and the extension of political control, institutions, etc., forced us to a re-examination of our traditional policies.

"The nineteenth century saw a vast increase in manufactured goods seeking non-European markets, a greater demand for the products of the tropics, an outflow of surplus European population seeking new homes, and an accumulation of European capital seeking opportunities for investment in the business of developing the enormous resources of Asia and Africa. At the same time railways and steamship lines, cable and telegraph lines, postal service and wireless stations all brought the different parts of the world constantly closer and closer together. The oceans ceased to be formidable barriers and became highways which connected nations instead of separating them. In this mighty movement the United States gradually came to take a larger and larger part. Although our merchant marine declined, our foreign commerce grew tremendously until along with Germany we became formidable rivals of England in the markets of the world. Our commercial travelers went forth to seek orders; our missionaries went to the ends of the earth to make converts, and our tourists scribbled their names on the world's greatest monuments from the pyramids of Egypt to the great wall of China.

"The growth of our commerce and the knitting together of East and West by a thousand strands of increasingly intimate intercourse of all kinds meant that whether we liked it or not, we had to take an interest in and a part in affairs beyond this hemisphere."

The liberalizing of European institutions had also, Professor Scott said, obliterated one of the reasons for our earlier adherence to the idea of isolation.

"But what has all this to do with Germany and our part in the world war? It means that the United States is now a world power, in the sense that it has

important and legitimate interests in every part of the world. It means that the nations of the world are so bound together that a war is no longer a local disaster, but a world calamity. It means that the stopping of war is not the right and the duty of some nations, but of *all* nations. Nations no longer live in sound-proof and water-tight compartments."

Professor Scott pointed out that Washington's declaration in favor of isolation was merely that we are not to be dragged into the affairs of Europe against our will by entangling alliances. We were to be free, he said, to choose peace or war as our interests, guided by justice, should counsel.

"Our interests," Professor Scott concluded, "our sense of justice: Surely we are not wrong in thinking that they required our choice of war. As a world power, whose peaceful development is bound up with international trade, we are inevitably interested in maintaining the hard-won principles of international law. As the greatest of democracies, we are vitally concerned in making the world 'safe for democracy.'"

FROM SPECTATOR TO PARTICIPANT

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN

How and why America, at first a spectator of the war from afar, was drawn into the world conflict, was the theme of Professor McLaughlin's address. Not until one horrible instance after another of German ruthlessness, he said, had convinced us that war "with its incalculable devastation, with its unimaginable misery and anguish, threatened to destroy the very basis of civilization," did we join. At first and even after we had suffered grievous wrongs as a nation, most of us did not believe we were called on to meddle.

In part, he continued, our final entrance into the war was caused by cumulative irritation at Germany's methods and cumulative recognition of the fact that militaristic success meant disaster. Our belief in the primary responsibility of the central powers for the war, our indignation at the invasion and devastation of Belgium, our horror at the Armenian massacres, the Zeppelin raids,

the machinations of the German spies in America, the U-boat campaign—particularly the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the *Sussex*—and other applications of the German *Schrecklichkeit* contributed to this result.

"We were shocked by German militarism, horrified by the devastation of war, appalled by the enormity of the desolation; we were awakened to the degrading character of political intrigue; we realized that our own democracy was endangered by militaristic success; we despaired of a world order in which millions of people could be thrown into war, millions of young men could be buried in ditches on the battlefield, or left to rot under the festering sun of France or Poland, millions of children beggared or stricken by disease, because an emperor willed it so or because nations could not learn the simple lessons of decent intercourse. . . . The first great hope for ourselves and for humanity thus appeared to be the total defeat of an intriguing government which considered politics in the large a great game of secret skill.

"Without American entrance into the war there seemed no hope for the relief of humanity from the crushing weight of war, and the almost equal weight of armed preparation. Never in the long history of mankind had there been such a fearful alternative, never a louder call to duty, never such another opportunity to do something noble and uplifting. Were we fit in body and soul to undertake this enormous task?

"Some people believed that our compelling influence for peace was to come from our remaining peaceful. There is much to be said for this as a general principle. We have learned to disbelieve in the peaceful character of swaggering militarism.

"Moreover, this must be said for those that declared that we must make for peace by practicing peace: the creative forces of the world have sprung from character; America, by her own self-respect and by her success in popular government, has built up the democratic spirit and the democratic power from Peking to Petrograd and from London to Quebec and Melbourne. In public action as in private conduct, achieve-

ments of character overtop the accomplishments of brutality.

"We believed this—I certainly believed it—but several things convinced me that this just idealism was now inapplicable. German philosophy scouts and flouts the idea that the state must not use its power to dash down opposition. German success meant the victory of *Machtpolitik*. If we expected to bring into the world an appreciation of rights and duties, if we hoped for influence in the adjustment of world affairs, if we wished to see a world that we could live in, it was necessary that in time of trial we should stand ready to do our part. The president had striven not only for our rights, not only for the maintenance of law, but for peace. Under much harsh criticism at home, he went to the very limits of proposal; he offered assistance; he declared that there was such a thing as being too proud to fight; he announced the idea of peace without victory; the hope that the war could be settled in such a way that the nations after the war could live without hatred; and above all he had continuously in mind the great absorbing duty for which we must strive and to which we must devote our lives and honor—an organization of the nations of the earth for peace and not for war. But strive and struggle as he might, it becomes daily more apparent that we should have little or nothing to say if after the war we called upon the nations to enter into a league of peace or summoned them to the establishment of a new world order. England and France and Italy might just say, 'Such high-flown sentiments sound well from you, who grow rich and fat while our life's blood was leaking away. *you* may now propose your readiness to help maintain peace; but when the walls of the earth were tottering, *you* were quite unwilling to lift your hand and do your plain duty.' If we contented ourselves with feeble threats and feline coaxings we should not have had a friend in the world—not one free from suspicion of our motives. If we were to have our share, do the work of imperative duty for our own salvation and mankind, we had now to fight for peace."

Professor McLaughlin appealed for a better understanding by Americans of the common stakes of England and

America in the war. Can we not believe, he asked, that England stands with us, committed to faith in the judgment and sober righteousness of the common man? Can we not feel that she runs our risks, faces our dangers and is subject to the follies and blunders which we know so well?

Of German "efficiency" Professor McLaughlin said: "Civilization rests on constraints and inhibitions quite as much as on impulse for movement; and the real civilizing restraint comes from within, from the government of self. And so government based on the principle of exterior compulsion and on the everlasting 'Nay' of *streng verboten* fails to recognize the eternal values of the self-directing human spirit. I would not underestimate the value of orderly life under adequate demonstration; we must learn lessons from Germany; but we cannot learn to prize efficiency at the expense of internal compulsion.

"Now, however, we may doubt German efficiency. The government has shown the ineffectiveness of mere command, for it has hopelessly misunderstood the thinking of all men beyond the reach of its mailed fist. . . . Would you use the word 'efficiency' to describe a government which in haughty pride brought you to the brink of destruction and led you into an abyss?

"We entered this war," Professor McLaughlin concluded, "with tremendous responsibility, and as we think of those crowds of grim and cheerful young men at Fort Sheridan, my boy among the rest, each loyal, each determined, but each one in his own mind 'taking the measure of an unmade grave,' we realize that we offer a fearful sacrifice. You and I must highly resolve that the sacrifice shall not be wasted. We must withall save our own real selves; for what would it profit us if we fought the whole world and lost ourselves? We must hold fast to a few sound principles of right:

"First, war is horrible, devastating, demoniacally ridiculous, and we simply must find ways of life without war; second, relations between nations have been built on notions that are antiquated—on intrigue, greed, false pride, covetousness, suspicion, and a sense of isolated individuality which modern com-

munication belies; third, big armies do not make for peace, but beget arrogance and prepare for explosions; fourth, suspicion and discourtesy may make enemies, and nothing is more vitiating than the unmanly envy or fear of a prosperous neighbor; fifth, that democracy must be the basis of the political system, but it must be real, conscientious, intelligent, unimpassioned, self-respecting, forethoughtful, generous, openminded; for, if not, we may be plunged into cataclysmic anarchy in the death struggle of passion-blinded peoples. In my judgment democracy, which will surely come out of this war, will recognize the oneness of humanity. But let us see that it does. We have already had preached to us a doctrine fraught with peril, that business and government are identical, that a nation is an economic unit striving on the principle of mercantilism with other economic units; that business and government are concentric and coterminous—but enough of this, for that way madness lies. I know the democrats of Europe in whom lies the safety of the new continent. I know that our own laborers have in some way not been blinded by the thought of national economic and political exclusiveness, and I take courage in remembering that the president of the United States has declared for democracy, humanity and national duty without profit."

DEMOCRACY THE BASIS FOR WORLD ORDER

FREDERICK D. BRAMHALL

Prof. Bramhall, addressing the Symposium audience, said:

"The United States is a pacifist nation—I believe and hope an incurably pacifist nation. Our entrance into this war, reluctant as it was and hesitant as it yet is, will be realized in time, I think, as a measure not of our departure from, but of our devotion to the cause of peace. We dislike all wars, and we are inclined to distrust even our own; and I, at least, believe that the slowness with which the national fervor is rising to this war is a not unencouraging evidence that we insist upon being definitely persuaded that this is no sordid war in which the common treasures are being spent in the service of nationalistic rivalries of

dynasties or business or investments. You remember the passionate denial of our Chicago poet in 1898, when doubts of the same sort forced themselves on his mind:

Lies! lies! It cannot be!
The wars we wage are noble, and our battles still are won
By justice for us ere we lift the gage.
We have not sold our loftiest heritage!
The proud republic hath not stooped to cheat and scramble
In the market place of war.
Her forehead weareth yet its solemn star.

"Let me appeal to you at the outset therefore not to be impatient of popular scruples upon entrance into war, but to be proud of them, and to regard the present task of leadership to be not the autocratic one of imposing this war upon a reluctant mass, but the democratic one of winning their hearty support by demonstrating its worthiness. It may be permissible to remark in passing that there is some irony in the nature of much of the conspicuous leadership in our various war councils; but we may surely feel confident that sooner or later the democracy will take effective charge of its own war, and hold it to its purpose.

Blindness we may forgive,
But baseness we will smite.

"And especially now that we have decided upon the method of conscription for our armies, we owe it doubly to the young men whom we take and to their fathers and mothers to make it certain beyond the shadow of a doubt that no unworthy uses at home or abroad shall be allowed to tarnish their new-world victories.

"What, then, is our purpose? It is expressed in the topic I have taken for my discussion in this series as the cause of democracy as the essential basis of a world order. That as you all know is the principal theme of the last half of the president's war address to Congress. I want to try to indicate in what sense it is true that Germany stands as the chief enemy of democracy; how it is impossible for her, so long as that enmity lasts, to be a good neighbor in the world and how that is the chief obstacle to our American hope for peace and world order.

"The first task, then, is the unpleasant one of proving an indictment; not against a nation, but against a state—

for I think it would be well for us to confess with Edmund Burke that we do not know how to indict a nation. And may I say parenthetically that I suppose that it is still possible to hate wrong without hating the wrong-doer, and that if we seem to claim virtue for ourselves and impute sin to the Germans, it behooves us to remember that it is largely sheer good luck that has enabled us to be right, and bitter, blinding pressure that has made Germany wrong. If Prussia is today trying to construct *Mittel-Europa*, it is largely *Mittel-Europa* that has made Prussia what she is.

"Well, then, what do we mean when we say that Germany stands for autocracy against the democracies of the world? We do not mean anything so shallow as that her institutions of government are badly planned and should be amended. I suppose that may be said of the United States without treason, even in wartime; and if this were a war to force Germany to adopt the United States Constitution, several of us would be conscientious objectors. Such institutions are rather the manifestations and symptoms of something more fundamental—of an attitude toward life and of settled principles of conduct. Democracy is not a set of devices, a form of machinery of suffrage, or representation, of elections, of relations of executive and legislature, and the like, though they may all have something to do with it. It is not a thing to be enacted, not a goal to be attained and enjoyed. If it were that and if we had attained it, why, then, the sooner we found something more important to talk about the better. No! Democracy is a method of progress. It is a faith—unproved like other faiths, but with heartening gleams of promise—a faith in a common humanity; a belief that men are essentially the same kind of stuff; that in this long pilgrimage of history all travel a common road and that only by the co-operation of all, by the recognition of all as common partners in the enterprise, with the common dignity of membership, the common experience of failure and achievement, can any sound and permanent advance, any progress worth the fighting for, be attained. It denies, then, that there can be any such thing as a governing class. To attempt to set aside

any such class is in the first place an intolerable waste of human spiritual resources; and in the second place it thwarts the hope of civilization. The progress of organized society is the progress of justice between men, and the fruitful ideas of social justice are not handed down from above, but forced up from below. Democracy holds that only by raising a whole people to higher levels can any part of that nation ultimately prosper, and that only as participating and co-operating members can the whole people be raised. It stands for the appeal to reason.

"And what, by contrast, is autocracy? It is the appeal to authority as such, to prescription, to the method of power. It denies the righteousness and the profit of general co-operation. It believes in the management of many wills by the competent few. Where democracy holds that men are in general such that they will respond to opportunity and turn toward the light, autocracy holds that they must in general be managed for their own good and that of the state, by a will that is not their will. Democracy invites the ranging human spirit to experiment with life. Autocracy proposes to order and to regiment it. Democracy respects intrinsic humanity, with a respect touched with humility; autocracy distrusts and suppresses it.

"Germany, in its organized capacity, stands for autocracy. This is not the place to discuss in detail German Imperial institutions. They have been much discussed: A Reichstag, based on universal suffrage, but in a positive sense endowed with little power, and based on districts unchanged since 1870, which the government refuses to reform because as they stand they grossly represent the old reactionary elements and underrepresent the newer democratic areas. A council of German executives set over it, maintaining in the empire, that monarchical principle, cherished in all the German states, all under the presidency of a kaiser who does not know how, if indeed it could be done, to distinguish between his Prussian kingship by divine right and imperial presidency by constitutional enactment. 'That which was lacking in the old Hansa,' said the emperor in the nineties, 'a strong united empire obedient to one will—we now

have, thanks to the grace of heaven and the deeds of my grandfather. Only one is master in the empire and I am that one—I tolerate no other.' The essence of German autocracy is not in fact distributed evenly throughout the empire, but can be traced to its source in the dominance of Prussia. Prussia commands the empire. It is necessary to remind ourselves that Prussia is in population and in area more than three-fifths of Germany, that by special arrangement it commands effectively the entire military power of the empire, that it has an absolute veto upon any constitutional change, as well as upon any change in the tax laws and the laws governing the army and navy. It is not strange Prussia has been allowed to dictate the character of the new empire. No German can forget how the long-defeated hopes of idealists and liberals came to apparent wreck in 1848 nor how the strong and ruthless hand of Bismarck took charge of the forces of German nationality and prestige and with a single-minded devotion to the establishment of the German name in the world, beat down liberal opposition and forged the empire with the weapon of the Prussian army. In the eyes of patriotic Germans, Prussia earned its leadership; but Germany has paid the cost in her submission to the strenuous discipline of Berlin. Movements toward democratic reform in South Germany have either made their way against vigorous Prussian opposition, as in Bavaria, or have been killed by the Prussian veto, as in the Mecklenburgs.

"In Prussia, however, we must trace the malady back to the monarchical principle 'Prusia represents in Germany the monarchical principle,' said Yorck von Wartenburg in 1914. What, then, is this monarchical principle? It is a belief in monarchy, not as a form as in Great Britain, but as an active and dominant power. It is monarchy by divine right. The monarch is anterior to the constitution; not within it but outside of it. What political institutions exist, have their being by the king's grace. He consults in Prussia, for his own guidance, but not for the control of his judgment, a legislature, one house of which is in the absolute control of the hopelessly reactionary Junkers, more royalist than

the king, and the other based upon a travesty of popular suffrage, which Bismarck himself described as the most senseless and miserable in the world. The king, say all the commentators, is responsible to God and his conscience and to nothing else. The present king constantly expresses the same view. 'Regarding myself as an instrument of the Lord, I go my way, whose goal is the welfare and peaceable development of our fatherland, and in so doing I am indifferent to the views and opinions of the day.'

"And on another occasion: 'Those who will work with me I welcome, those who oppose me I will smash.' With the gift of a statue of the Great Elector he wrote to the city of Bielefeld: 'I send this as a permanent sign that, as in this ancestor, so in me, there is an inflexible will to go forward in a way once deemed right in spite of all resistance.' On the 17th of December, 1890, addressing a university audience, he said: 'Gentlemen, my ancestors, feeling the pulse of the time, have always discerned coming events. Then they have placed themselves at the head of the new movements, resolved to direct them and lead them to new ends. Similarly I think I, too, have recognized whither the new spirit and the century now nearing its end attended.'

"We might well discuss such utterances as the vagaries of a somewhat unbalanced mind if it were not that the lack of balance is not personal, but inseparable from the institution. No man can be a Prussian king and be wholly sane. A certain measure of insanity may be regarded as a prerequisite to the office.

"Finally let me refer to his famous Koenigsberg speech of August, 1910, in which he said he would take his inspiration from God alone, who had given him his crown and never from public opinion or the will of assemblies. This speech aroused in the Reichstag a storm of criticism of what were there called 'the impulsive manifestations, the effervescences, the explosions of monarchical subjectivism.' I want to call your attention to the significant remarks of Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag November 26, 1910. 'The kings of Prussia are

closely united with their people through a logical evolution of several centuries. That evolution did not take such a course that the people created the kingdom; on the contrary by a labor almost without example in history it was its great chieftains issuing from the House of Hohenzollern; it was this House which finding its support in the capacity and endurance of the population, it was this House which forged the Prussian state. Upon the basis of this historic evolution the Prussian constitution knows not the conception of popular sovereignty. That is why the kings of Prussia, so far as their people are concerned, are kings by their own right. And if at the present moment from the democratic side the pretention is energetically raised that the king of Prussia is to be regarded as a great dignitary established by the people, it is no matter for surprise if the king asserts with the same vigor his will never to submit to any popular sovereignty.'

"We shall have to trace the matter back, however, one step farther, from the monarchical principle to its basis in Prussian militarism. It is the misfortune of Prussia that it has so demonstrably prospered by the use of non-moral, if not immoral force. The faith in arms has been drilled in through centuries of growth. It was Mirabeau who said: 'War is the national industry of Prussia.' And to him also is attributed the other statement: 'Prussia is not a nation that has an army; it is an army that has a nation.' Prussians are not allowed to forget the famous statement of Bismarck September 30, 1867: 'The great questions of the present are not decided by arguments and the decisions of majorities, but by blood and iron.'

"It is of some significance that the present king of Prussia made his first address upon his accession to the throne to his army and not until three days later did he address the Prussian people. His speeches to soldiers are full of his insistence upon the priority of the military profession in the life of Prussia and of his soldiers' complete subjection to the king's will. 'Now, as ever, the one pillar on which the empire rests is the army.' 'The chief pillars of the army are courage, honor, and unconditional blind obedience.' 'The soldier has not to have a will of his own; you must indeed all

have one will, and that is my will; there is only one law and that is my law.'

"Americans will like to contrast with these the words of Lincoln when he addressed a regiment on its way to the front in 1864: 'I always feel inclined when I talk to soldiers to try to impress upon them the importance of success in this contest. . . . I happen temporarily to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that anyone of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this that the struggle should be maintained.' We may congratulate ourselves upon being the inheritors of the tradition of Abraham Lincoln rather than of the Hohenzollerns.

"Two other quotations from responsible men will serve to emphasize the position assigned to the military cast in Prussia. Bethmann-Hollweg declared in the Landtag on the 10th of January, 1914: 'The dearest wish of every Prussian is to see the army of the king remain intact under the management of its king and not to become an army of parliament.' And Prof. Hans Delbrueck, of the University of Berlin: 'German soldiers serve the king, not the fatherland. The king is their comrade and they are attached to him as to their war lord, and that is the foundation of our national life.'

"Nothing could have illuminated the spirit of Prussian militarism more clearly than did the incident of Zabern in December, 1913. You will remember that the Prussian garrison of this little Alsatian village had got itself into an attitude of intolerable friction with the townspeople. A lieutenant, who was reviewing some cases of discipline, came upon a man who was charged with stabbing a peasant. 'What,' he exclaimed, 'did they fine you for sticking an Alsatian blackguard? I would have given you ten marks for it.' His amiable remarks were repeated through the village and all the popular resentment flared up. The soldiery proceeded to suspend a number of civil authorities and to put

down the opposition to the military power with ruthless determination. The incident which finally commanded the attention of all Germany was the sabering of a lame shoemaker. The reichstag launched several interpellations and the arrogance of the Prussian war party received a more complete and general denunciation than it had ever had before. The net result, however, was the defeat in the reichstag of all attempts to subject the military authorities to any substantially greater restraint; to call forth from the crown prince his famous telegram to the colonel at Zabern: 'Keep right at it,' and to win for the colonel a coveted decoration from the emperor.

"Upon the basis of such a caste is carefully constructed the whole system of national patronage and power with every instrument which a paternal government can wield, with carefully managed elementary school system, state control of higher education and even a stage directed to the aims of military and autocratic propaganda, with a rigid control of association, of public meeting and of the press.

"We are left then to ask why all this is not Germany's own business? Why can we not leave the German people safely to deal with their own wrongs? So I think we could if only it were possible to build a wall around Germany and leave the autocracy to run its inevitable course to ruin. But we cannot isolate Germany. We have got to contemplate the world in which Germany is a factor to reckon with, and it would be foolish to suppose that the internal characteristics of Prussian autocracy could fail to determine the character of German conduct in the world. The same spirit of caste, domination, the same contempt of intrinsic humanity which mark the Prussian autocrat at home inevitably characterize his conduct abroad. The same leaders who have been swash-buckling through the streets of Europe are those who swashbuckled through the streets of Zabern. On the basis of the absurd egotism of crowned and military caste in Prussia has been built up the equally absurd doctrine of German national egotism.

"It is the doctrine that Germans form the high caste of humanity.

"And finally it is this threat of narrow, intolerant nationalism built on the appeal to military force which stands in the way of the high hope for the peace of the world with which the United States enters this war. Our immediate purpose must be, unpleasant as the task is, to inflict unquestionable defeat upon the Prussian military power; to send the militarist autocracy, thoroughly beaten at its own game, back to the people it has so strangely domineered over for so long, and then to trust democratic Germany to deal with it. Then, and not until then, will the road be clear for progress toward democratic and peaceful world order, based upon a respect for humanity and the appeal to reason rather

than to force. And let us at all costs keep the vivid realization that in entering this war we are dedicating ourselves again to the democratic principle; at home, to set our faces anew against irrational power and prescriptive authority, against any system whereby the wills of many are subjected to the uses of a few and commit ourselves to the business 'of furthering the depth and width of human intercourse;' and abroad, against the old false competitive nationalism, which is not an instrument but an obstacle to the democratic hope of men and toward 'those fruitful processes of co-operation in the great experiment of living together.' "

"At the present time the country is in the midst of an exceedingly interesting transition. The notion of how to secure justice in taxation is undergoing a radical change. The system upon which most of our municipalities depend for the bulk of their revenue, the general property tax, has been found to be sadly lacking. Approximately just as was at one time the theory that every person should contribute according to the value of the property he owned, it is now conceded to be no longer satisfactory. Because of changes in economic conditions the capital value of property is no longer a fair index of ability to pay. Because of insuperable difficulties of administration, a large part of property always escapes its theoretically just share of the burden. The consensus of intelligent opinion is that forward steps in taxation are away from the general property tax.

"There are, broadly speaking, only two bases suitable for the imposition of a rate designed to reach all tax-paying ability. One base consists of all capitalized values and is used in the general property tax now in disrepute. The other is made up of yields of incomes, present and expected. The first is the capitalization of the second. The tendency of the present transition is away from capitalized values, except for real estate, and toward incomes. The last few years has seen a surprising series of conversions to the income tax among students of public finances in the United States. Convinced partly by the success of the

federal income tax and partly by the favorable experience of Wisconsin, their faith in the practicability of income taxation has been strengthened sufficiently to cause them in many cases to reverse their previous position and to come out strongly in favor of the new plan. Recommendations of a state income tax have been numerous and statutes have already been passed in several states establishing the system. The significance of this movement for municipalities is twofold. It may operate to take from the cities some of the subjects of taxation which they now possess, such as personal property. But since the cities are usually not successful in their efforts to reach such property, the loss may not be unsupportable. In the second place, the plan, as proposed in some places, included a distribution to the localities so that, if the states are more successful in reaching tax-paying ability with an income tax than are the cities with the general property tax, the adoption of the plan will result in the augmentation of local revenues.

"Your committee is of the opinion that the adoption of state income taxes is a very promising development and that, under certain conditions, set forth fully in the supporting memorandum, they offer an attractive solution of the revenue problem for those cities which find real estate taxes insufficient."—*From Report of Committee on Sources of Municipal Revenue, National Municipal League.*

"PATRIOTISM AND PACIFISTS IN WAR TIME"

JANE ADDAMS

Miss Jane Addams, on May 15, presented to the City Club her views on the present world situation and the part which "pacifists" should play in it. She said:

"THE position of the pacifist in time of war is most difficult, and necessarily he must abandon the perfectly legitimate propaganda he maintained before war was declared. When he, with his fellow countrymen, is caught up by a wave of tremendous enthusiasm and is carried out into a high sea of patriotic feeling, he realizes that the virtues which he extols are brought into unhappy contrast to those which war, with its keen sense of a separate national existence, places in the foreground.

"Nevertheless, the modern peace movement, since it was inaugurated three hundred years ago, has been kept alive throughout many great wars and during the present war some sort of peace organization has been maintained in all of the belligerent nations. Our Woman's International Committee for Permanent Peace, for instance, of which I have the honor to be chairman, is in constant communication with our branches organized since this war began in such fighting nations and colonies as Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Hungary, British India, Italy, France, Poland and Russia, in addition to the neutral countries of Europe and one or two of South America.

"Surely the United States will be as tolerant to pacifists in time of war as those countries have been, some of which are fighting for their very existence, and fellow-citizens, however divided in opinion, will be able to discuss those aspects of patriotism which endure through all vicissitudes.

"Before taking up the subject of this paper, it may be well to state that there are many types of pacifists, from the extreme left, composed of non-resistants, through the middle-of-the-road groups, to the extreme right, who can barely be distinguished from mild militarists; and that in our movement, as well as in many others, we must occasionally remind our-

selves of Emerson's saying, that the test of a real reformer is his ability to put up with the other reformers.

"In one position, however, we are all agreed, and to this as to an abstract proposition, we must hold at all times, even after war has been declared: that war, although exhibiting some of the noblest qualities of the human spirit, yet affords no solution for vexed international problems; and that moreover after war has been resorted to, its very existence, in spite of its superb heroisms and sacrifices which we also greatly admire, tends to obscure and confuse those faculties which might otherwise find a solution.

"In the stir of the heroic moment when a nation enters war, men's minds are driven back to the earliest obligations of patriotism, and almost without volition the emotions move along the worn grooves of blind admiration for the soldier and of unspeakable contempt for him who, in the hour of danger, declares that fighting is unnecessary. We pacifists are not surprised, therefore, when apparently striking across and reversing this popular conception of patriotism, that we should not only be considered incapable of facing reality, but that we should be called traitors and cowards. It makes it all the more incumbent upon us, however, to demonstrate, if we can, that in our former advocacy we urged a reasonable and vital alternative to war, and that our position now does not necessarily imply lack of patriotism or cowardice.

"To take up the three charges in order:

PACIFISTS AND "PASSIVISM"

"First: The similarity of sound between the words 'passive' and 'pacifism' is often misleading, for most pacifists agree with such statements as that made by Mr. Brailsford in *The New Republic* of March 17th—that wonderful journal, *The New Republic*, from which so many preachers are now taking their texts in preference to the New Testament. Mr. Brailsford, an Englishman, said: 'This war was an act of insurgence against the

death in life which acquiesces in hampered conditions and unsolved problems. There was in this concerted rush to ruin and death the force of a rebellious and unconquerable life. It was bent on a change, for it knew that the real denial and surrender of life is not a physical death but the refusal to move and progress.' Agreeing substantially with this analysis of the causes of the present war, we pacifists, so far from passively wishing nothing to be done, contend on the contrary that this world crisis should be utilized for the creation of an international government able to make the necessary political and economic changes when they are due; we feel that it is unspeakably stupid that the nations should have failed to create an international organization through which each one, without danger to itself, might recognize and even encourage the impulse toward growth in other nations.

"Pacifists believe that in the Europe of 1914, certain tendencies were steadily pushing towards large changes which in the end made war, because the system of peace had no way of effecting those changes without war, no adequate international organization which could cope with the situation. The conception of peace founded upon the balance of power or the undisturbed *status quo*, was so negative that frustrated national impulses and suppressed vital forces led to war, because no method of orderly expression had been devised.

"We are not advocating the mid-Victorian idea that good men from every country meet together at The Hague or elsewhere, where they shall pass a resolution, that 'wars hereby cease' and that 'the world hereby be federated.' What we insist upon is that the world can be organized politically by its statesmen as it has been already organized into an international fiscal system by its bankers or into an international scientific association by its scientists. We ask why the problem of building a railroad to Bagdad, of securing corridors to the sea for a land-locked nation, or warm water harbors for Russia, should result in war. Surely the minds of this generation are capable of solving such problems as the minds of other generations have solved their difficult problems. Is it not obviously because such situations tran-

scend national boundaries and must be approached in a spirit of world adjustment, while men's minds, still held apart by national suspicions and rivalries, are unable to approach them in a spirit of peaceful adjustment?

"The very breakdown exhibited by the present war reinforces the pacifists' contention that there is need of an international charter—a Magna Charta indeed—of international rights, to be issued by the nations great and small, with large provisions for economic freedom.

THE PATRIOTISM OF PACIFISTS

"In reply to the old charge of lack of patriotism, we claim that we are patriotic from the historic viewpoint as well as by other standards. American pacifists believe—if I may go back to those days before the war, which already seem so far away—that the United States was especially qualified by her own particular experience to take the leadership in a peaceful organization of the world. We then ventured to remind our fellow citizens that when the founders of this republic adopted the federal constitution and established the Supreme Court, they were entering upon a great political experiment of whose outcome they were by no means certain. The thirteen colonies somewhat slowly came into the federation, and some of them consented very reluctantly to the use of the supreme court. Nevertheless, the great political experiment of the United States was so well established by the middle of the 19th century, that America had come to stand to the world for the principle of federal government and for a supreme tribunal whose decisions were binding upon sovereign states.

"We pacifists hoped that the United States might perform a similar service in the international field, by demonstrating that the same principles of federation and of an interstate tribunal might be extended among widely separated nations as they had already been established between contiguous states. Stirred by enthusiasm over the great historical experiment of the United States, it seemed to us that American patriotism might rise to a supreme effort. We hoped that the United States might refuse to follow the beaten paths of upholding the rights of a separate nationalism by

war, because her own experience for more than a century had so thoroughly committed her to federation and to peaceful adjudication as to every-day methods of government. The President's speech before the Senate embodied such a masterly restatement of these early American principles that thousands of his fellow citizens dedicated themselves anew to finding a method for applying them in the wider and more difficult field of international relationships.

THE TASK OF ORGANIZATION

"We also counted upon the fact that this great war had challenged the validity of the existing status between nations as it had never been questioned before, and that radical changes were being proposed by the most conservative of men and of nations. As conceived by the pacifist, the constructive task laid upon the United States in the recent crisis called for something more than diplomacy and the old type of statesmanship.

"It demanded a penetration which might discover a more adequate moral basis for the relationship between nations and the sustained energy to translate the discovery into political action. The exercise of the highest political intelligence, we hoped, might not only establish a new scale of moral values, but might hasten to a speedy completion for immediate use, that international organization which has been so long discussed and so ardently anticipated. For there is another similarity between the end of the 18th century and the present time; quite as the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution had been preceded by much philosophic writing on the essential equality of all men and on the possibility of establishing self government among them, so the new internationalism has long had its thinkers who have laid a foundation of abstract principle. Then, as now, however, the great need was not for more writing, nor even for able propaganda, but for a sober attempt to put them into practice, to translate them into concrete acts.

AMERICAN PRECEDENTS

"We were more hopeful of this from the fact that the test of experience had

already been applied by the United States to such a course of action, at least so far as to substitute adjudication for war. Four times before now has our country become involved in the fringe of European wars, and in three instances the difficulties were peacefully adjudicated.

"In 1798, when the French Revolution had pulled most of Europe into war, George Washington, who was then President—perhaps because he was so enthusiastic over our Supreme Court—refused to yield to the clamor of his countrymen to go to war on the side of France, our recent friend, against Great Britain, our recent enemy, and sent Chief Justice John Jay over to London to adjust the difficulties which had arisen in connection with our shipping. Because John Jay was successful in his mission, George Washington became for the time so unpopular that he publicly expressed the wish that he had never been born—although he does not seem to have permanently lost his place in the hearts of his countrymen.

"Four years later, when France violated our neutral rights on the seas, John Adams, as President, sent commissioners to Paris who adjudicated the matter. Although keeping the peace made Adams so unpopular that he failed of his second term, many years later, as an old man, he said that his tombstone might well be inscribed with the words: 'He kept the peace with France.'

"Adams' successor, Thomas Jefferson, encountered the same difficulty, and in spite of grave mistakes, succeeded in keeping the country out of war. He was finally rewarded by the peaceful acquisition of the vast Louisiana territory.

"The War of 1812 was the result of a disregard of neutral rights incident to the Napoleonic upheaval, and made the first break in the chain of international adjudications instituted by Chief Justice Jay, which had become known as the American plan.

"Although both England and France had violated our rights at sea, the United States was drawn into war with England at the moment when she was in a death grapple with Napoleon, and so irrational is war, that in the final terms of peace, the treaty did not mention the

very matter upon which war had been declared. Perhaps, however, three adjudications out of five instances in which the shipping of the United States has become involved in European war, is as much as can be hoped for.

PACIFISTS AGAINST ISOLATION

"With such a national history back of us, as pacifists we are thrown into despair over our inability to make our position clear when we are accused of wishing to isolate the United States and to keep our country out of world politics. We are, of course, urging a policy exactly the reverse, that this country should lead the nations of the world into a wider life of co-ordinated political activity; that the United States should boldly recognize the fact that the vital political problems of our time have become as intrinsically international in character as have the commercial and social problems so closely connected with them; that modern wars are not so much the result of quarrels between nations as of the rebellion against international situations inevitably developed through the changing years, which admit of adequate treatment only through an international agency not yet created. The fact that such an agency has been long desired, the necessity for it clearly set forth by statesmen in all the civilized nations, and that a splendid beginning had already been made at The Hague, makes the situation only more acute.

AMERICA'S RESOURCES FOR LEADERSHIP

"We had also hoped much from the varied population of the United States, for whether we will or not, our very composition would make it easier for us than for any other nation to establish an international organization founded upon understanding and good will, did we but possess the requisite courage and intelligence to utilize it.

"There are in this country thousands of emigrants from the Central Powers, to whom a war between the United States and the fatherland means exquisite torture. They and their inheritances are a part of the situation which faces us. They are a source of great strength in an international venture, as they are undoubtedly a source of weakness in a purely nationalistic position of the old-fashioned sort. These ties of

blood, binding us to all the nations of the earth, afford a unique equipment for a great international task if the United States could but push forward into the shifting area of internationalism.

"Modern warfare is an intimately social and domestic affair. The civilian suffering and, in certain regions, the civilian mortality, is as great as that endured by the soldiers. There are thousands of our fellow citizens who cannot tear their minds away from Poland, Galicia, Syria, Armenia, Serbia, Roumania, Greece, where their own relatives are dying from diseases superinduced by hardship and hunger. To such sore and troubled minds war had come to be a hideousness which belongs to Europe alone and was part of that privation and depression which they had left behind them when they came to America. Newly immigrated Austrian subjects of a dozen nationalities came to their American friends during the weeks of suspense, utterly bewildered by the prospect of war. They had heard not three months before that the President of the United States did not believe in war—for so the Senate speech has been interpreted by many simple minds—and they had concluded that whatever happened, some more American way would be found.

"The multitude of German subjects who have settled and developed certain parts of the United States had, it seems to me, every right to be considered as an important factor in the situation, before war was declared. President Wilson himself said, in February, after the U-boat campaign had been announced, that he was giving due weight to the legitimate rights of the American citizens of German descent. The men of '48 are as truly responsible for our national ideals as the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or the Russian revolutionists of the '90s. How valuable that gallant spirit of '48, spreading as it did from one European country to another, could be made in an international venture it is difficult to estimate.

"It has been said that this great war 'will prove the bloody angle at which mankind turns from centuries of warfare to the age of peace.' But certainly this will not happen automatically nor

without leadership founded upon clear thinking and international sympathies.

"It is very easy to go to war for a well defined aim which changes imperceptibly as the war progresses, and to continue the war or even end it on quite other grounds. Shifting aims is one of the inherent characteristics of war as an institution.

"Pacifists hoped that this revolution in international relationships, which has been steadily approaching for three hundred years and is long over-due might have been obtained without our participation in the war; but we also believe that it may be obtained after the war, if the United States succeeds in protecting and preserving the higher standards of internationalism.

NATIONAL UNSELFISHNESS

"Pacifists recognize and rejoice in the large element of national unselfishness and in the recognition of international obligation set forth by President Wilson as reasons for our participation in the great war. We feel that the exalted sense of patriotism in which each loses himself in the consciousness of a national existence, has been enlarged by an alliance with nations across the Atlantic and across the Pacific with whom we are united in a common purpose. Let the United States, by all means, send a governmental commission to Russia; plans for a better fiscal system to bewildered China; food to all nations wherever little children are starving; but let us never forget that the inspiring and overwhelming sense of a common purpose, which an alliance with fifteen or sixteen nations gives us, is but a forecast of what might be experienced if the genuine international alliance were achieved, including all the nations of the earth.

"In so far as we and our allies are held together by the consciousness of a common enemy and the fear of a common danger, there is a chance for the growth of the animosity and hatred which may yet overwhelm the attempt at international organization to be undertaken after the war, as it has defeated so many high-hearted attempts in the past.

"May we not say in all sincerity that for thirty-three months Europe has been

earnestly striving to obtain through patriotic wars, that which can finally be secured only through international organization? Millions of men, loyal to one international alliance, are gallantly fighting millions of men loyal to another international alliance, because of Europe's inability to make an alliance including them all. Can the United States discharge her duty in this situation save as she finally makes possible the establishment of a genuine international government?

AMERICA'S SENSE OF FAILURE

"Ever since the European war began, the United States has been conscious of a failure to respond to a moral demand; she has vaguely felt that she was shirking her share in a world effort toward the higher good; she has had black moments of compunction and shame for her own immunity and safety. Can she hope through war to assuage the feverish thirst for action she has felt during all those three years? There is no doubt that she has made the correct diagnosis of her case, of her weariness with a selfish, materialistic life, and of her need for concerted, self-forgetting action. But is blood-letting a sufficiently modern remedy in such a diagnosis? Will she lose her sense of futility and her consciousness of moral failure, when thousands of her young men are facing the dangers of war? Will she not at the end of this war still feel her inadequacy and sense of failure unless she is able to embody in a permanent organization the cosmopolitanism which is the essence of her spirit? Will she be content, even in war time, to organize food supplies of one group of nations and to leave the women and children of any nation still starving?

"Is not the government of the United States somewhat in the position of those of us who have lived for many years among immigrants? It is quite impossible for us to ask just now whether the parents of a child who needs food are Italians, and therefore now our allies, or Dalmatians, and therefore now our 'alien enemies.' Such a question is as remote as if during the Balkan war we had anxiously inquired whether the parents were Macedonians or Montenegrins, although that was then a distinc-

tion of paramount importance to thousands of our neighbors.

"It has been officially declared that we are entering this war 'to make the world safe for democracy.' While we are still free to make terms with our allies, are we not under obligation to assert that the United States owes too much to all the nations of the earth whose sons have developed our raw prairies into fertile fields, to allow the women and children of any of them to starve?

"It is told of the recent Irish uprising that after Sheehy Skeffington had been arrested, an English soldier was placed on guard in the house lest Mrs. Skeffington and her little boy might destroy possibly incriminating papers; that the soldier, after standing for a long time in the presence of the woman and child, finally shifted his position and, looking uneasily at Mrs. Skeffington, said; 'You see, I didn't enlist exactly for this.'

"Would it not be possible for the United States to tell her allies that she had not enlisted in this great war for the purpose of starving women and children? When the United States entered the war the final outcome was apparently to be decided by food supply rather than by force of arms. Could Germany hold out during the spring and early summer until the new crop was garnered? Could England feed herself were the U-boat campaign in any degree successful, were the terrible questions in men's minds.

"For decades civilized nations had confidently depended upon other nations for their supply of cattle and of grain until long continued war brought the primitive fear of starvation back into the world with so many other obsolete terrors.

NATIONAL BOUNDARIES AND FOOD SUPPLY

"Such an international organization as the United States is now creating in connection with her allies for the control of their common food supply, is clearly transcending old national bounds. It may be a new phase of political unification in advance of all former achievements, or it may be one of those shifting alliances for war purposes, of which European history affords so many ex-

amples. Simply because food is so strategic, as it were, we lay ourselves open to the latter temptations. Could we not free ourselves from this and at the same time perform a great service if we urge that an international commission sit at Athens during the rest of this war, as an international commission sat in London during the Balkan wars? Such a commission might at once insist upon a more humane prosecution of the war, at least so far as civilian populations are concerned, a more merciful administration of the lands occupied, and distribution of foodstuffs to all conquered peoples.

MILITARY COERCION OR SOCIAL CONTROL?

"The United States has to her credit a long account of the spread of democratic institutions during the years when she was at peace with the rest of the world. Her own experiment as a republic was quickly followed by France, and later by Switzerland, and to the south of her a vast continent contains no nation which fails—through many vicissitudes though it be—to maintain a republican form of government.

"It has long been the aim of this government of ours and of similar types of government the world over to replace coercion by the full consent of the governed, to educate and strengthen the free will of the people through the use of democratic institutions, and to safeguard even the rights of minorities. This age-long process of obtaining the inner consent of the citizen to the outward acts of his government is of necessity violently interrupted and thrown back in war time; but we all realize that some day it must be resumed and carried forward again, perhaps on an international basis. Let us strive to keep our minds clear regarding it.

"Some of us once dreamed that the cosmopolitan inhabitants of this great nation might at last become united in a vast common endeavor for social ends. We hoped that this fusing might be accomplished without the sense of opposition to a common enemy which is an old method of welding people together, better fitted for military than for social use. If this for the moment is impossible, let us at least place the spirit of co-

operation above that of bitterness and remember the wide distinction between social control and military coercion.

"It is easy for all of us to grow confused in a moment like this for the pacifist, like the rest of the world, has developed a high degree of suggestibility; we too share that sensitiveness to the feelings, the opinion, and the customs of our own social group which is said to be an inheritance from an almost pre-human past. An instinct which once enabled the man-pack to survive when it was a question of keeping a herd together, or of perishing off the face of the earth is perhaps not under-developed in any of us.

ARE PACIFISTS COWARDS?

"When as pacifists we urge a courageous venture into international ethics, which will require a fine valor as well as a high intelligence, we experience a sense of anti-climax when we are told that because we do not want war, we are so cowardly as to care for 'safety first,' that we place human life, physical life, above the great ideals of national righteousness.

"But surely that man is not without courage who, seeing that which is invisible to the majority of his fellow countrymen, still asserts his conviction and is ready to vindicate its spiritual value over against the world. Each advance in the zigzag line of human progress has traditionally been embodied in small groups of individuals, who have ceased to be in harmony with the *status quo* and have demanded modifications. Such modifications did not always prove to be in the line of progress, but whether they were or not, they always excited opposition, which from the nature of the case was never so determined as when the proposed changes touched moral achievements which were greatly prized and had been secured with much difficulty.

"Bearing in mind the long struggle to secure and maintain national unity, the pacifist easily understands why his theories seem particularly obnoxious just now, although in point of fact our national unity is not threatened, and would be finely consummated in an international organization.

PEACE AND JUSTICE

"With visions of international justice filling our minds, pacifists are always a little startled when those who insist that justice can only be established by war, accuse us of caring for peace irrespective of justice. Many of the pacifists in their individual and corporate capacity have long striven for social and political justice with a fervor perhaps equal to that employed by the advocates of force, and we realize that a sense of justice has become the keynote to the best political and social activity in this generation. Although this ruling passion for juster relations between man and man, group and group, or between nation and nation, is not without its sterner aspects, among those who dream of a wider social justice throughout the world there has developed a conviction that justice between men or between nations can be achieved only through understanding and fellowship, and that a finely tempered sense of justice, which alone is of any service in modern civilization, cannot be secured in the storm and stress of war. This is not only because war inevitably arouses the more primitive antagonisms, but because the spirit of fighting burns away all of those impulses, certainly towards the enemy, which foster the will to justice.

"We believe that the ardor and self sacrifice so characteristic of youth could be enlisted for the vitally energetic role which we hope our beloved country will inaugurate in the international life of the world. We realize that it is only the ardent spirits, the lovers of mankind, who will be able to break down the suspicion and lack of understanding which has so long stood in the way of the necessary changes upon which international good order depends; who will at last create a political organization enabling nations to secure without war, those high ends which they now gallantly seek to obtain upon the battlefield.

"With such a creed, can the pacifists of today be accused of selfishness when they urge upon the United States not isolation, not indifference to moral issues and to the fate of liberty and democracy, but a strenuous endeavor to lead all nations of the earth into an organized international life worthy of civilized men?"

"THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT"

CHARLES W. HOLMAN

One of the important legislative measures passed by Congress at its last session is the Federal Farm Loan Act, which represents the culmination of a long effort to secure constructive land credit legislation. The relation of this legislation to the farming industry was discussed before the City Club on March 30 by Charles W. Holman, Secretary of the National Agricultural Organization Society, Madison, Wisconsin. Mr. Holman was for a number of years in the employ of the government as an investigator of rural conditions in the southwestern states and is thoroughly familiar with agricultural problems.

IMPORTANCE OF RURAL PROBLEMS.

Professor Graham Taylor, who presided at the meeting, called attention to the fact that farmers have long been an exploited class. Distributors have found it easy to take advantage of them because the farming industry has been so imperfectly organized. The recent tendency of the government to study rural problems and to come to the aid of agricultural interests is a movement of vast significance for the whole country. Professor Taylor urged that agricultural interests ought to be nationally organized. More is involved in this than organization of a single industry. It affects our congested cities, which are crowded with immigrants whose training as farmers in Europe ought to be utilized in the development of our vast agricultural resources. The difficult problem of the proper distribution of our population must be worked out if we are to make adequate provision for the future food supply of our nation. Mr. Holman, in substance, addressed the Club as follows:

"The year 1890 marks the beginning of a new economic era in the United States. By that time the open path to home ownership had been closed and tenancy had begun to spring up to a considerable degree. Not all the land had been taken up by 1890, but after that the more significant openings

were in Oklahoma, Florida, North Dakota, Wyoming, New Mexico and the Pacific Coast states, and after that time the hunger for land began to manifest itself. In 1915 the federal land commission reported that 279,544,498 acres were left unappropriated and unreserved. This government land consisted largely of tracts which are not capable of settlement on the old squatter basis—that is, they require considerable capital for irrigation or for clearing. These lands are to be had mainly in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.

"Just before the publication of this report the commissioner of corporations issued a report that shows that one-twentieth of the total area of this country was in the hands of less than 1,700 private owners and corporations. Much of the land embraced in this report is to be found in states like Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Texas and Louisiana. As long as these large estates are kept off the market they contribute to the difficulties that are to be encountered in increasing the number of farmers in America, and they are not inconsiderable factors in the high cost of living.

RISE IN PRICE OF LAND.

"Beginning with the opening of the present century there was a gradual rise in the prices that prevail at the present time. Coincident with this rise in the price of farm products the valuations of land on the average in this country increased 100 per cent, and in many of the newer states the price of land trebled and quadrupled. I have seen land carved out of a wilderness of mesquite bought in the block at \$5 per acre parceled out and sold at \$20 per acre, uncleared and unfenced, fifty miles from the railroad. I have seen land in the prairie regions of Texas jump from \$100 an acre to \$250, and yet the productivity of those same lands had undergone no increase, while soil experts say that a decided

wasting of soil strength had taken place in many instances.

"Together with the rise in the price of land has come a rise in the price of work animals and of cattle and feed. Prices of farm implements have increased and the need for expensive implements has become very apparent. At the same time interest rates have remained abnormally high in the developing sections, while the time allowed for paying for the farm has been too short for the needs of the average settler.

INCREASE OF TENANT FARMING.

"These factors and others have contributed to the checking of the tendency for farmers to become home owners. It is not surprising that in the parceling out of our lands to great groups and in the grabbing up of them by powerful individuals, and in the cityward trend of retired farmers, there should be an enormous increase in tenant farming in the United States. In a general way, tenant farming has increased from 25 per cent in 1880 to 37 per cent in 1910. As it is generally accepted that this same ratio of increase has been maintained, we may safely say that nearly 40 per cent of the tillable lands in America are now in the hands of tenants.

"In 1880 a very large proportion of the tenants of America were clustered in the cotton producing sections, but today we find the richer corn belt the scene of a marvelous rural revolution in which tenants are displacing home owners at an alarming rate. In Illinois, for instance, 41.4 per cent of the farms are operated by tenants. It is interesting to note that the counties in Illinois where the percentage of tenancy runs highest contain the most expensive land in the state.

"Moreover, conditions are such in these richer states that the capital required to become a home owner is far greater than the resources of the average tenant who tills the land. Such a man must then continue working the land of another man or secure cheaper or undeveloped land elsewhere under conditions that will retard rather than encourage home building.

STATE AID FOR FARMERS.

"Until the last five or six years there was little realization that America had a land question. But within that period almost every state has awakened to the need of state aid to put the unused lands to work. The struggle for land first manifested itself in Texas in 1910, when trouble occurred between landlords and tenants which resulted in the organization of the Renters' Union. The first state to make a definite inquiry in regard to the land question was California, which in 1915 passed a law providing for a commission to investigate and consider the question of land colonization and the various forms of land banks, co-operative credit unions and other rural credit systems adopted in this country and elsewhere, with a special view to the needs of the rural community of that state. Constructive legislation growing out of the report of this commission is now before the California legislature.

"In the state of Wyoming, according to the report of the state engineer, the cost of equipping a farm has increased 137 per cent in the past ten years. This report states that there are hundreds of requests for extension of time by settlers who, under an unaided system, are struggling along. Fifty per cent of the land in Wyoming is still in the public domain. The authorities have agreed that this large portion of the state will never be settled by any of the systems of land settlement in operation at the present time. A resolution has been introduced into the present state legislature memorializing Congress to set aside two billion acres, the same to be sold and proceeds used to create a trust fund to aid settlers under irrigation projects. This memorial goes on to show that there are hundreds of thousands of acres of land that are commanded by complete irrigation systems and that failure to settle them has emphasized the necessity of considering the human problem involved.

"Instances could be given of other states that are awaking to the necessity of paying more attention to the land question. Rural conditions are

being studied as never before and many have been surprised to find out how great is the need for constructive work in rural communities. The decline in our rural population in many sections of the country and the rapid increase of tenancy make it imperative that adequate legislation be devised.

THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT

"These facts to which I have called your attention will help you to realize the importance of the Federal Farm Loan Act, which was passed by Congress last year. For several years careful study has been made of the systems of agricultural credit in vogue in European countries. It was increasingly felt that the commercial banking system on which the farmer was dependent was inadequate for his needs. Better facilities for long term loans were imperative as a first step toward the improvement of the farming industry.

"The Federal Farm Loan Act is based primarily upon the theory proved in Ireland that the annual rents of a farm when tilled intelligently can be made the basis of annual purchase payments, including the interest. It is also offered on the theory that state aid in land settlement is necessary and justified on the grounds of public policy. The state has much to gain by turning tenant farmers, immigrants and other landless men into home-owning farmers.

"This act provides for the creation of a federal farm loan bureau in the Department of the Treasury under the supervision of a federal farm loan board. The members of this board are authorized to divide the country into twelve districts, in each of which is to be established a federal land bank having a capital stock of not less than \$750,000. Shares in small denominations will be placed on the market, and if the capital is not fully subscribed

the Secretary of the Treasury has authority to make up the balance.

FARM LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

"The law further provides that in each federal land bank district, national farm loan associations may be formed by ten or more land owners who desire loans in the aggregate of not less than \$20,000. Each association is required to invest five per cent of the amount of each loan in stock of the federal land bank. As soon as its charter is received from the Federal Farm Loan Board, an association has power to make long-term loans up to 50 per cent of the value of farm lands, with interest not exceeding 6 per cent. The conditions imposed upon the borrower are that he must subscribe for stock in his association up to 5 per cent of the amount of his loan, must cultivate the land which he has offered as security, and must repay the principal in annual installments. The longest term for which a loan may run is 40 years, and the size of individual loans may vary from \$100 to \$10,000.

"In brief, this is an outline of the method devised by the federal government to aid in solving our land problem. From many quarters the law has been severely criticised on various grounds. Even its friends admit it is complicated and cumbersome and that at best it is an experiment the result of which cannot entirely be forecast. We may say that it is a good but crude beginning of what we hope may become more adequate legislation in the future.

"In this time of national emergency we ought to have a national committee on organizing agriculture. It is of the highest importance that all our agricultural resources should be wisely utilized in the production of food. It is especially important that farmers be exempted from service in the army, for if they are called upon to enlist in large numbers our food supply will be seriously crippled."



HEALTH INSURANCE

Gov. McCall's indorsement of health insurance in his inaugural address to the Massachusetts Legislature, January 4, 1917, has been widely commented upon. He said:

"I ask you to consider carefully certain forms of social insurance. I understand the term to mean in substance the insurance of society against its disease, and that society should take wholly or in part upon itself the work of defending against certain well defined evils which result from our modern system of production, the chief burdens of which have heretofore been left upon deserving people who are least able to bear them.

"Nothing could be more just than that ordinary accidents occurring in the conduct of a great industry should be reckoned as one of the costs of doing the business. Massachusetts has given recognition, tardy though it be, to the necessity of that kind of insurance.

NEEDED HEALTH INSURANCE

"In the other fields of social insurance we have done little or nothing. The sickness of workingmen, with the consequent expense of medical treatment and loss of pay, is responsible for more than six times the amount of dependency caused by industrial accidents. Without health insurance the burden of sickness falls wholly upon the workingman and his family. In order to make the loss as light as possible in the first instance, he is likely to do the thing which will make it heaviest in the end.

"He is apt to keep about his work after he has become ill, and even when compelled to stop he will often delay calling a physician. He will return to work sometimes before he is able to do so, and drag through his task to the permanent injury of his health. For the present wage, and to avoid the immedi-

ate expense, his health and strength, which are his capital, are impaired or squandered, and without them he cannot continue to work. Sometimes his loss of pay and the expense leave him heavily in debt, which is a source of worry so long as it remains, if indeed he ever emerges from it.

"Statistics show that the health of workingmen and their families as a group is poorly looked after. With proper medical supervision their condition would be very greatly improved. Germany has had a system of compulsory health insurance for many years, and during that time the increase in longevity has been at twice as high a percentage as in the other great countries where the system did not exist. It is not to be doubted that the condition of the health of the people of that empire has been an important factor in the present war.

"I am strongly of the opinion that there is no form of social insurance that is more humane, sounder in principle, and that would confer a greater benefit upon large groups of our population and upon the commonwealth as a whole than health insurance.

"System and the wholesale scale on which the enterprise would be conducted would result in procuring medical care and attendance and the benefits of preventive medicine at far less cost and with far more effect than if the workingman were acting for himself alone. It may fairly be said to involve a mobilization of the physicians of the commonwealth for concerted effort in the most systematic and comprehensive work we have ever undertaken for the general health. I recommend that you establish a compulsory system with a reasonable benefit during the period of sickness, and that the system be made to include members of the family, as is done in many of the German funds."

THE WORLD'S RAILROADS.

"There are about 700,000 miles of railway in the world, of which about one-third are government owned. In Europe, the government owns or controls 53 per cent of the railroads, in

Asia 65 per cent, in Africa 60 per cent, in Oceania 90 per cent, in South America 5 per cent. The only government-owned railroad in the United States is the line now under construction in Alaska."—*Greater New York*, Feb. 26, 1917.

CLUB NOTES

The following persons have joined the Club since May 5th, 1917:

Benjamin V. Becker, Lawyer.
 P. W. Cadman, Assistant Manager, Royal Insurance Company.
 Edwin C. Crawford, Lawyer.
 John B. Crosby, President, Crosby-Chicago, Inc. (Advertising).
 Arthur J. Dalies, Ogden, Sheldon & Co., Real Estate.
 Ralph Dillenbeck, White & Tabor, Real Estate.
 William V. Couchman, International Harvester Co.
 Glen Edwards, Executive Secretary, Public Education Association.
 E. S. Fredendall, C. J. Webb & Co.
 Irwin T. Gilruth, Lawyer.
 Harold J. Hecht, Alex Friend & Co., Real Estate.
 Arthur E. Lane, Gane Brothers & Co., Binders' Supplies.
 Donald S. Michelsen, Manager, Robert Mitchell Furniture Company.
 Edwin S. Mills, Sales Manager, Carnegie Steel Company.
 Eben H. Norris, T. S. Denison & Co., publishers.
 S. L. Orwall, International Harvester Co.
 J. A. Roberts, Pittsburgh Steel Company.
 George M. Shaw, President Board of Directors, Paris Laundry Co.
 B. L. Shepard, Public Accountant.
 Modie J. Spiegel, President Spiegel May Stern Company.
 Henry M. Wolf, Lawyer.
 J. C. Zinck, Zinck & Company, Exporters.

George B. Ford of New York, the well known architect and city planner, visited the City Club the other day. He will leave shortly for France with a commission organized under the auspices of the American Red Cross to study problems involving the reconstruction of French and Belgian cities after the war.

The Loan Shark Bill, endorsed by the City Club Committee on Charities, was passed without a dissenting vote by the State Senate on May 31st. The bill had been previously passed by the House, after a hard fight and, if approved by the Governor, will become a law July 1st.

The new law will do away with the exorbitant rates on small loans charged by many money lenders to needy persons having little or no security to offer. The

present legal restriction of the rate of interest to 7% has been, so far as applicable to loans of this character, entirely ineffective. It has been deliberately evaded by a system of fees for special services and the actual interest rate charged by the "loan sharks" has run from 120% to 900% a year.

The new law will limit the rate of interest to 3½% a month on loans of \$300 or under and no special fees may be charged. This rate was fixed after consultation with the Russell Sage Foundation, which has been in close touch with this problem in various states. It was believed that this is a just rate considering the usual lack of security and the comparatively heavy over-head charges in small loans. To enforce a lower rate of interest would have driven these concerns out of business and so have made it impossible for people in real need to secure financial assistance. The new law, furthermore, will limit assignments of wages in security for such loans to 50%.

The new law will require firms making these small loans to secure a license from the State Department of Trade and Commerce. Their books are subjected to very close supervision and penalties are prescribed. The law will not apply to banks, trust companies, building and loan associations, wage loan corporations or pawn brokers.

The Chicago committee which prepared the law was made up of representatives of the Legal Aid Society, the First State Industrial Wage Loan Society, the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation, the Municipal Department of Public Welfare and others interested in the problem. In framing the bill it followed in the main the provisions of the model bill of the Russell Sage Foundation.

The recent appeal to members of the City Club for contributions toward the purchase of an ambulance for the American Ambulance Corps in France met with gratifying success. Over \$1,900 was subscribed, almost entirely in \$2.00 amounts. The ambulance will bear the inscription "Presented by the City Club of Chicago."

One of the afternoon papers, reporting the May 15th meeting of the City Club, at which Miss Jane Addams spoke on "Patriotism and Pacifists," said:

"Miss Addams' talk was not punctuated with applause. Her most ringing sentences were received politely though not responsively. Scores of the men present listened seriously and intently, others offered a perfunctory attention."

Members of the large audience present at this meeting will remember that Miss Addams was warmly applauded when she entered the room and at the beginning and at the end of her address. She was given a most attentive hearing and there was no evidence of the attitude intimated in the above newspaper account.

The large attendance indicated that the Club's traditional policy of hearing both sides of controverted questions is still believed in.

The bill for the establishment of a state penal farm for the care of persons now sentenced to county jails, work houses and houses of correction throughout the state has been enacted into law. It was endorsed by the City Club Committee on Charities. In advocating the bill the committee said:

"There could not be a more favorable time for action in Illinois than now when mobilization of the man power of the nation and the economical use of labor is the watchword. We advocate this plan primarily on account of its reasonableness from the standpoint of reformatory treatment of the prisoner."

This enabling legislation will make it possible for Illinois to do away with the insanitary and demoralizing county jails as places for the care of sentenced prisoners. Prisoners will have an opportunity for healthful work in the open air under conditions more conducive to their reformation. Indiana already has a successful institution of this sort.

For your amusement in an idle hour—a collection of fifty books of fiction loaned by the Public Library is in the City Club lounge.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

Tuesday, June 19, at luncheon:

"Our National Food Supply—Increase and Conservation."

Eugene Davenport, Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Thursday and Friday, June 21 and 22:

"How Shall the War be Paid For?"

—A symposium under the joint auspices of the Western Economic Society and the City Club.

AT THE CITY CLUB:

THURSDAY AT 6:00 P. M. DINNER TICKETS \$1.00. INFORMAL.

SPEAKERS: EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, E. DANA DURAND, HAROLD G. MOULTON.

FRIDAY AT 10:00 A. M.

SPEAKERS: ERNEST L. BOGART, CARL C. PLEHN.

FRIDAY AT 12:30 P. M. LUNCHEON 60c.

SPEAKERS: LUCIUS TETER, THOMAS S. ADAMS.

AT THE LA SALLE HOTEL:

FRIDAY AT 6:00 P. M. DINNER TICKETS \$2.00. INFORMAL.

SPEAKERS: JACOB H. HOLLANDER, WILLIAM A. SCOTT, ADOLPH C. MILLER.

Dinner tickets may be had at the City Club. For complete program and arrangements see the announcement previously mailed to members.

The City Club Bulletin

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CLUB NOTES

MANY members of the Club are engaged in government war-time service and others are joining it from day to day. The following is by no means a complete list. These names will be found posted on the bulletin board of the Club, and the list will be kept up to date so far as possible.

Members are requested to report errors or additions to the office, so that the Club "roll of honor" may be complete.

U. S. Navy—

- Ayres Boal, ensign N. R. F., in charge U. S. S. "Wolverine," Erie, Pa.
- Edwin H. Clark, lieutenant, J. G., architect in charge of construction, Great Lakes, Ill.
- Herbert H. Evans, lieutenant, Norfolk, Va.
- Dr. John F. Urie, Great Lakes Training Station, Ill.

U. S. Army—

- Francis W. Taylor, captain 3rd Reserve Engineers, Chicago.
- Nathan William MacChesney, colonel, judge advocate general, Ill. N. G. and N. R., assigned to active duty U. S. Army as major, judge advocate, U. S. R. Headquarters, Central Department, Chicago.
- P. Junkersfeld, major, Reserve Officers' Corps, Washington, D. C.
- E. R. Lillard, sergeant, F. battery, 2nd Ill. Field Artillery.

- F. O. Mason, private, E. battery, 1st Ill. Field Artillery.
- Keith K. Richardson, E. battery, 1st Ill. Field Artillery.

Reserve Officers' Training Camp, Fort Sheridan, Ill.—

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Henry F. Tenney | James A. Knox |
| Preston Kumlér | Karl D. Loos, |
| W. McM. Rutter | William J. Mack |
| C. B. Benjamin | Hugh W. McCulloch |
| Fernando Cuniberti | P. F. W. Peck |
| L. S. Harpole, | Harold E. Potter |
| E. D. Hostetter | William S. Taussig |
| Wm. H. A. Johnson | |

Training Cantonments—

- Samuel A. Greeley, chief sanitary engineer, Battle Creek, Mich.
- J. Tyrell Cheney, resident sanitary engineer, Battle Creek, Mich.
- Frank A. Windes, in charge of military road construction and repairs, Battle Creek.

Medical Reserve Corps—

- Dr. C. S. Williamson, major, Fort Riley, Kansas.
- Dr. William H. Wilder, member Medical Examining Board, M. R. C.
- Dr. Harry E. Mock, captain, Fort Riley.
- Dr. Dean D. Lewis, major and director Base Hospital No. 13.
- Dr. L. W. Bremerman, lieutenant, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana.
- Dr. George H. Simmons, major, member General Medical Board.
- Dr. James A. Britton, 1st lieutenant, Fort Benjamin Harrison.
- Dr. Vernon C. David, captain, Fort Benjamin Harrison.
- C. J. Perhitt, sergeant, Base Hospital Unit No. 11.

Ambulance Service—

- Gale Willard, driver of the City Club Field Ambulance, France.
- H. M. Conard, Mitchell Dawson, J. Arnold Scudder, all in France.

Engineer Officers' Reserve Corps.

- J. B. Jackson, 1st lieutenant, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Departmental Service, Washington—

- William B. Hale, A. B. Dick, Jr., E. D. Smith, George F. Porter, Julius Rosenwald.

DR. FRANK BILLINGS and Raymond Robins, members of the City Club, are members of the Red Cross Mission to Russia. Charles R. Crane, also a member of the Club, is a member of the "Root" Mission.

THE addresses in the symposium on "How Shall the War Be Paid For?" held June 21 and 22, under the auspices of the Western Economic Society and the City Club, are being published by the University of Chicago Press. The book will be off the press in a few days and arrangements are being made for its sale to City Club members at a nominal price. It will probably be on sale at the cashier's desk in the Club House.

The symposium was a significant contribution by the foremost experts in the country to the vital problem of war finance. The book, by making the addresses public, will render timely and valuable service. The addresses to be published are as follows:

"THE FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE WAR." Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University.

"BONDS OR TAXES—IN WHAT PROPORTION?" E. Duna Durand, Professor of Political Economy, University of Minnesota (formerly head of U. S. Census Bureau).

"INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION." Harold C. Moulton, Assistant Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago.

"LESSONS FROM OUR PAST." Ernest L. Bogart, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois.

"LESSONS FROM ENGLISH TAXATION IN THE PRESENT WAR." Carl C. Plehn, Professor of Political Economy, University of California.

"TAXATION AND BUSINESS." Lucius Teter, Vice-President of the Chicago Association of Commerce.

"INCOME AND EXCESS PROFITS TAXES." Thomas S. Adams, Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.

"BOND ISSUES AND THE MONEY MARKET." William A. Scott, Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin.

"FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS AND WAR FINANCE." Adolph C. Miller, Member of Federal Reserve Board.

Definite announcement as to how the book may be obtained will be made later.

GEORGE C. SIKES, Secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, addressed the City Club on June 26th, on the movement for city and county consolidation in California. Mr. Sikes returned recently from a trip to the coast, where he acted in an advisory capacity to the California Taxpayers' Association, which is promoting the movement.

HOUSE BILL 838, passed in the last days of the recent Legislature, relating to the proposed development of harbor facilities in Lake Calumet, has been vetoed by Governor Lowden. The City Club Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways wired the Governor June 26th, urging him to take this action.

The ground assigned by the committee for urging the veto of the bill was that by repealing Section 15 of the so-called O'Connor Act of 1913, it "breaks down the policy of public ownership of harbors and harbor facilities, which policy was wisely established by that bill." The section of the O'Connor act referred to provides that lands acquired under it by any municipality must be held only for a public purpose and that if they are thereafter granted or sold to a private owner they shall revert to the state. Measures designed to accomplish the purpose of House Bill 838 were passed at two previous sessions of the Legislature and each time vetoed after the presentation of arguments by the Harbors Committee of the City Club.

THE following persons have joined the Club since the last issue of the City Club Bulletin:

Alfred Alexander, New York Life Insurance Company.

I. A. Baum, La Salle Engineering Company.

A. B. Boyer, La Salle Engineering Company.
William V. Couchman, International Harvester Company.

Conrad Fantozzi, Chicago Telephone Company.

Louis Grilk, George L. Dyer Company (Advertising).

E. LeC. Hegeman, Chicago Manager, Francisco & Jacobus, Consulting Engineers.

Ransom Kennicott, Forester, Forest Preserve District of Cook County.

Dr. W. J. Siems, Physician and Surgeon.

John C. Smith, Powell, Garard & Co. (Investments).

Alfred C. Tyler, President, Tyler Manufacturing Company (Hardware).

MR. ROYAL MEEKER, United States Commissioner of Labor, addressed the City Club Committee on Labor Conditions on June 8 on the subject of insurance for soldiers and their families and on various war time labor problems.

THE new Club committee on War Time Conditions, recently created by the Public Affairs Committee, has sent telegrams to Washington urging the immediate passage of the food bill by the Senate, its prompt consideration by the Conference Committee and its final enactment into law. The members of this committee are: Williard E. Hotchkiss, chairman; T. W. Allinson, Samuel G. Carney, W. L. Chenery, W. T. Cross, Samuel Dauchy, F. S. Deibler, F. H. Deknatel, James A. Field, Stephen A. Foster, Harold L. Ickes, George H. Mead, H. A. Millis, W. B. Moulton, James Mullenbach, Charles N. Stillman, J. J. Zmrhal.

THE bill favored by the City Club Committee on State and Local Charities giving the city certain powers needed for the establishment of a municipal farm colony outside the city limits was passed by the Legislature and is a law. The money for this enterprise was voted by the people of Chicago several years ago.

MR. ERNEST A. WREIDT, who has been associated with the City Club Committee on Education in the investigation of problems affecting the school system of Chicago, has been appointed Associate Director of the newly created State Department of Education and Registration. Mr. Wreidt made the investigation for the Sub-committee on Vocational Education, the results of which were published in the 300-page report issued by the Club in 1912.

THE City Club Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways sent resolutions to Springfield opposing the passage of a bill for the sale of land, mostly submerged, in Lake Michigan to the Iroquois Iron and Steel Company. The committee declared the sale of lands which might later be needed for harbor development to be against public policy and urged as an alternative a policy of leasing. The committee also held that the purchase price of \$200 per acre, provided for in the bill, was inadequate. The bill was, however, passed and has been signed by the Governor.

THE facilities of the City Club during the summer months are available to members' sons between the ages of 17 and 21. Where use of these facilities is desired, introduction should be by letter and by registration with the doorman.

THE filing, on July 12, of a large number of objections to the 1916 tax levies opens another chapter of the tax validation question.

Members will recall that the validation of the Cook County levy for 1915 was strongly urged upon the Legislature at its recent session by the Public Affairs Committee and the directors of the City Club. The bill was designed to legalize taxes declared invalid by the courts on the ground that the technical requirements of the law as to publication had not been observed. The bill did not come to a vote in either House; it died in committee in the Senate and was tabled with other bills on the second reading in the House in the final days of the session. Charges were made by County Clerk Sweitzer in an address at the City Club on June 5 that the bill was being throttled through political influence. Certain firms of attorneys acting on behalf of property owners who had withheld portions of their 1915 taxes, had large contingent fees at stake in the defeat of this legislation. Of these, Mr. Sweitzer said, the firm having perhaps the largest amount of fees involved (estimated at \$200,000) was that of Landon & Holt, of which the present attorney general of Illinois, Edward J. Brundage, was a member until his recent election to office.

Although the Legislature failed to validate the 1915 taxes, it did validate those of 1916, so far as errors in the method of publication were concerned. It now appears, however, that the validation of these taxes will be contested on grounds which will not be evident until the objectors are heard before the County Court.

On May 9 the City Council ordered that the following circular letter, interesting in this connection, from the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, be published in its proceedings:

"April 19, 1917.

TAX ERROR

"It is contended that in extending the taxes for 1916 the taxing bodies in Cook County have made an error in the rates which will effect a substantial saving to taxpayers who take advantage of the illegal tax levies.

"Those desiring to avail themselves of this opportunity and wish the Law Department of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to appear for them in the County Court should at once send their tax bills to this office for the purpose of having computed the amount that should be withheld from payment to the County Treasurer.

"A charge of one-third of the amount of the saving will be retained for expense and attorney's fees.

"(Signed) JOHN M. GLENN,
"Secretary."

The City Council has also printed in its proceedings (page 412) a list of about four hundred and fifty names, furnished by the County Clerk, of property owners in the downtown district who had evaded payment of taxes for 1915.*

THE City Council, at its last meeting before the summer adjournment, passed an ordinance designed to permit the use of the sub-basement in Mandel Brothers' department store as a retail salesroom. This proposition was opposed in December, 1915, by the City Club Committee on Public Health and was defeated. The committee at that time in a letter to the City Council stated:

We believe that in the interest of both patrons and employes all spaces below the street level, being shut off from any direct communication with outside light and air, and being dependent thus upon special devices for the essential conditions of health, comfort and safety, are for these reasons open to objection for use as department or other sales rooms or for other public purposes, and that, as a matter of public policy, since this disadvantage inevitably increases with every story added downward, sub-basements should not be permitted to be used as such sales rooms in any part of the city.

The committee this year reaffirmed its position of two years ago and sent a letter to the City Council opposing the ordinance. It said:

*Erroneously stated in the proceedings to be for 1916.

We regard this ordinance as representing a policy of underground development which, from various standpoints, and especially that of public health and safety, ought not to be introduced anywhere in this city.

The ordinance just passed is designed to legalize a salesroom planned in 1909 and in use since 1912 in violation of the city building code. The salesroom is located in a second basement, 32 feet below grade and with a well hole in the center 40 feet square.

The company in 1915 was represented in this matter by former Corporation Counsel William H. Sexton and in 1917 by Charles Weinfeld of the firm of Schuyler & Weinfeld, of which the present Corporation Counsel, Mr. Ettelson, was a member before he took office in the present city administration.

At a meeting of the City Club on December 25, 1915, Mr. Sexton stated that prior to the construction of the building, Mayor Busse had assured Mandel Brothers that he was satisfied to have them build the building, and that later the amendment to permit the use of this sub-basement could be taken up. The sub-basement, however, has been in use as a salesroom since that time without the enactment of any such amendment. The Woman's City Club, in a letter to the City Council opposing the proposed ordinance, June 29, 1917, said on this point:

The methods of procedure of Mandel Brothers in constructing the building in violation of the building code, of occupying the building illegally, and finally of coming before the City Council to request that their act be legalized, is against the best interest of the community. Any action by the City Council which would condone such procedure will unquestionably be contrary to good public policy.

The roll call in the City Council by which the ordinance was passed was as follows:

YEAS—Coughlin, Norris, Anderson, Schwartz, McDonough, Fetzer, McNichols, Klaus, Culbertson, Horne, Smith, Maypole, Kaindl, Szymkowski, Walkowiak, Adamkiewicz, Healy, Touhy, Bowler, Powers, Franz, Fick, R. H. McCormick, Haderlein, Roeder, Link, Captain, Adamowski, Littler, Byrne, Hrubec, O'Toole, Wm. J. Lynch, Long, Rea, Michaelson, Hazen, Toman, Kostner, Thomas J. Lynch, Clark.

NAYS—Hiff, Doyle, Nance, A. A. McCormick, Cross, Woodhull, Block, Johnson, Krundick, Novak, Kerner, Ahern, Rodriguez, Kunz, Bauler, Ellison, Steffen, Pretzel, Lipps, Watson, Kennedy, Pegram.

THE City Club Committee on Labor Conditions aided in the effort to secure from the Legislature at its recent session the enactment of a law for an eight-hour day for women workers in Illinois. The "Eight-Hour Bill" introduced by Representative Allan J. Carter was endorsed by the committee and letters urging its adoption were sent to Springfield. In these letters the committee said:

We call your attention to the fact that Illinois is far behind many of her sister states in protection of women wage earners from unduly long hours of work.

We further call your attention to the recent report of the English Commission for the Study of the Effects of Excessive Hours of Labor Upon Output of Munitions of War. This report shows clearly that excessive hours of work, even in time of great national need, are a sin against efficiency. The granting of Sunday rest and the experimental shortening of hours not only appreciably increased the *hourly* output, but also the average *weekly* output of each laborer, sick leave being taken into account.

To allow women to work in factories ten hours a day for seven days in the week, as the Illinois statutes now permit, is not only a menace to the physical well-being of present and future generations, but also an economic blunder in the light of recently acquired knowledge. National efficiency must include conservation and maximum use of human resources. This is one of the outstanding lessons of the present world conflict.

The "Carter Bill" was defeated in the House and an eleventh hour effort, backed by the Governor, was made to pass a modified bill in the Senate. This bill exempted from the operation of the act cities of less than a specified population and industries employing less than a specified number of workers—the population and the number of workers varying according to the industries affected. These exemptions, Senator Morton D. Hull contended, were plainly unconstitutional, for under the police powers regulations of working hours must be based on considerations of health and the exemption of cities and industries of the classes indicated did not turn on such considerations. The bill would also, he pointed out, repeal the present ten-hour law and if specified sections of the eight-hour bill were declared unconstitutional on the grounds above indicated, women

in the industries affected would be left without the protection which they have under the present law.

The Senate bill was defeated and in its stead a bill introduced by Senator Hull was enacted providing for an investigating commission to report on the subject to the Legislature two years hence.

A BILL introduced at Springfield, providing that if fires are started through criminal intent or negligence a civil suit may be instituted by the city against the occupant of the premises to recover the cost of putting out the fire, was tabled. The City Club Committee on Fire Protection, while approving the principle of the bill, opposed it as drawn because it did not apply to the owners of buildings as well as to occupants. The committee declared that the failure of the Pennsylvania law on which the bill was modeled was due to this discrimination.

THE West Chicago Park Commissioners recently appointed Mr. Isaac Shapiro, a member of the Board, as their secretary. Heretofore it has been customary to appoint a secretary from outside the Board and the position has in years past frequently been used for political purposes. The City Club Committee on Parks and Playgrounds has commended the recent action of the Board in a letter to President John F. Smulski. The committee says:

We believe that the practice of certain previous commissions in electing a "political secretary" has involved serious prejudice to the interests of the parks and the public confidence in their administration, and we feel sure that your course will be commended by all disinterested and public spirited citizens. We wish to express the hope also that the present commission will be able to maintain the admirable civil service standards which have characterized the administration of the West Chicago parks in recent years.

Fred G. Heuchling, superintendent of employment of the West Park System, in charge of civil service, was reappointed, July 12, for the six-year term provided by law.

GEORGE E. HOOKER, Civic Secretary of the Club, has been appointed member of the Draft Exemption Board of the 43rd district.

THE SELECTIVE DRAFT LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

Dean John H. Wigmore

ON July 10 Dean John H. Wigmore of the Northwestern University law School addressed the City Club on the plan for the drafting of the national army as contained in the act for the increase of the military establishment and in the regulations issued thereunder. Dean Wigmore is commissioned as a major in the Judge Advocate's Department and is now in Washington serving under General E. H. Crowder. In his City Club address he said:

"The object of this address is to set forth the scheme of the selective service system that underlies the statute and the regulations.

"The *military forces* of the United States are divided into three grand masses, the Regular Army, the Organized Militia, and the Volunteer Forces. The selective service forces fall into the third group primarily, but the president may use them to fill the gaps in the first and the second.

"All citizens should understand that the system as adopted is as simple, just, rational, and practical as could have been devised. The experience of the Civil War, fifty years ago, was carefully studied, and its mistakes were wisely avoided. The system is as nearly perfect as it could be made. It is the kind of system which a rational and practical business man would have thought out for himself.

"The scheme is this:

- I. REGISTRATION.
- II. QUALIFICATION.
 1. ELIMINATION:
 - a) Alien enemies.
 - b) Alien friends non-declarants.
 - c) Felons.
 2. EXEMPTION:
 - a) Federal and State officials.
 - b) Military and naval forces.
 - c) Ecclesiastics.
 3. REMISSION (DISCHARGE):
 - a) Physical incapacity.
 - b) Persons having dependents.
 - c) Occupations.
 - d) Creed.
- III. SELECTION.
 1. ALLOTMENT OF QUOTA.
 2. NUMBERING.
 3. ASSEMBLING.

"Before describing it, let us remember that the scope of military duty is defined already by our statute of 1898,

which says: All persons owe the duty of military service, between the ages of 18 and 45, who are citizens or have declared their intent to become citizens.

"But the Selective Service Act of 1917 does not attempt to use all this mass of persons. It confines its scope to persons who are between 21 and 30 inclusive. Moreover, the numbers needed for the two national armies to be raised are less than the total number of eligible citizens. The process, therefore, had to follow three stages:

1. Find out who are the persons owing military duty;
2. Among these, determine which ones are unsuitable and release them;
3. From the remainder, select the total number needed.

"Neither more nor less than this was to be done.

"Thus the three grand stages are: *Registration; Qualification; Selection.*

I. REGISTRATION.

"The first thing to do was to find out who those persons are who owe military duty and to record them. The decennial census does not record individuals, but only totals.

"In the Civil War, registration was effected by a lengthy house to house canvass, made by government agents. This proved a failure. The new way was to call upon the citizens to come forward themselves and register. The plan proved a splendid success. It was a notable proof of loyalty. It was the most remarkable national fact of the last twenty-five years.

"The only persons of eligible age not required to register were persons already in military or naval service; because these were already recorded in government lists. Otherwise, the registration, however, included *all* persons of the specified age, even those not liable to duty, i. e., aliens, because otherwise it would be difficult to check up those who evaded registration.

"We then have on the registration cards *all* persons between the ages of 21 and 30.

"The next stage is therefore to determine which ones are not suitable to the purpose of the Selective Service Act, i. e., the stage of

II. QUALIFICATION.

"What are the natural parts of this stage? They are obviously three. First, strike out those who owe no military duty; next, let off those who have a right not to perform military duty under the Selective Service system; and third, let off partially or entirely those whom the government believes can wisely be dispensed with. These three processes we will call: *Elimination*, *Exemption*, and *Remission*.

1. *Elimination* is the striking out of those registered persons who owe no military duty. Who are they? As the registration included all persons (not already in army or navy) between 21 and 30, it included two classes of persons who have no military duty, either under the Service Act or the general law, viz., alien enemies (i. e., Germans) and alien friends who have not applied for citizenship. The former will be struck out whether they ask for it or not. The latter will not be struck out unless they ask for it.

"There is a small third class that will be struck out, viz., persons convicted of felony; because the general law forbids such persons to enlist. And they will be struck out on the demand of any person.

"2. *Exemption*. The next thing is to release those who have a right not to perform their military duty under this Act. Who ought to be given such a right?

"The law recognizes *three* classes of persons: a) Federal and State officials; b) Federal soldiers and sailors; c) Ecclesiastics.

"(a) *Federal and State officials*. These are given a right of exemption because the government is already getting their services in other capacities, which are equally needful. This class includes legislative, judicial, and executive officers. The distinction between an officer and an employee of the government will sometimes be hard to draw. But only state officers are included, not county or municipal officers. Whether it includes officers who give only part time to their duties is not yet settled.

"(b) *Federal military and naval forces*. The reason these are exempted is because they are already fully performing

elsewhere their military duty. This group includes the Regular Army, the Reserve Corps, the National Guard (when called into Federal service), the Navy, the Marine Corps and Reserve, the Naval Militia, the Naval Reserve, the Naval Volunteers, the Public Health service under detail with Army or Navy, the Lighthouse and Coast Survey similarly detailed. The Hospital Corps and presumably the Red Cross Ambulance Corps are included under the Medical Reserve Corps. The Y. M. C. A. units are not included; but presumably they will fall under class three later. The men in the Officers' Training Camps who may be rejected after trial will not fall into this class, because they were never finally accepted into military service; but if they were rejected for physical incapacity, presumably they would later be rejected under the Service Act.

"(c) *Ecclesiastics*, i. e., *ministers of religion*, either duly ordained or regularly acting in that profession, and students preparing for that profession in theological schools. The reason they are given this right is that the career of the ministry has always been regarded as setting apart its members from the world of strife. A minister, therefore, is not expected to fight, no matter how good the cause. Nevertheless, under the exemption system, he will not be rejected unless he demands his privilege.

"3. *Remission*. The third process is to let off those whom the President believes can wisely be dispensed with. This, however, does not give any one an absolute right to be released. The *exempted* persons have such an absolute right. But here the President has the discretion; the law says that he is 'authorized to exclude or discharge from draft, or to draft for partial military service only.'

"What are these classes of persons? What persons would you include in those classes? You would naturally include those who are physically not capable of serving as soldiers, those who are needed for the support of their families, and those who are more needed for other work than they are in the military forces.

"These three general ideas, therefore, lead to the following eleven classes: (This process, called here *Remission*, is called *Discharge* in the statute and the

regulations; but it is not precisely a discharge, for it may be partial or temporary only).

"(a) *Physical incapacity*. The regulations for determining this have not yet been promulgated. Presumably, there will be two examinations, one by the local board, and, if accepted, a later one after enlistment.

"(b) *Family dependence*. The regulations are liberal; they include husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers having dependents; the family must be dependent on the man's income, and that income must arise from his labor and not from his capital.

"(c) *Occupation*. This covers:

- (1) County and municipal officers;
- (2) Custom house clerks;
- (3) Postal service employees;
- (4) Armory, navy yard, and arsenal employees;
- (5) Other federal employees;
- (6) Pilots;
- (7) Mariners;
- (8) Industries useful for military purposes.

"In all of these groups (except county and municipal officials, and pilots) the party must show that he is individually needed. The last group of industries includes three sorts, viz., occupations necessary to the *maintenance* of the military establishment, occupations necessary to the *operations* of the military forces, and occupations necessary to the maintenance of *national interest during the war*. What these industries are will be announced in supplementary regulations.

"(d) *Creed*. A fourth, last, and anomalous remission is grantable to those who belong to and believe in a religious creed which forbids its members to participate in war in any form,—even when that war is waged against murderous lunatics running amuck in the world. Whether any such bona fide creed exists, I do not know.

"The third and last stage is

III. SELECTION.

"It now remains to select the needed number from among the citizens who have thus qualified as liable to duty.

"If you were doing this, first, you would allot a proper share of the required number to each locality.

"Next, you would fix for each individual the order in which he would be called for service; and

"Last, you would call the quantity actually needed from time to time.

"And this is what the law does. The three processes are, therefore:

1. Allotment of quota;
2. Numbering;
3. Assembling.

1. *Allotment of Quota*. Some 10,000,000 persons are registered. Now the total number needed under the law is 500,000 for the first new National Army, 500,000 more for the second; and about 100,000 to fill the gaps in the Regular Army and National Guard, or about 1,100,000 in all. How shall we get this 1,100,000 out of the 10,000,000?

"Each local region should furnish its share of the whole. The law has taken as the basis the total population, and it begins by allotting the quota according to States, e. g., if Illinois has 7,000,000 people, and the nation has 105,000,000, Illinois has 1/15 of the whole population. And if the first army raised is to be 700,000, then Illinois' quota is 1/15, or say 45,000. The Governor then allots the quota further in the same way to the local districts, e. g., if Evanston has a population of 30,000, its quota will be, say, 200.

"2. *Numbering for Order of Service*.

(a) To determine the order of service, the fairest way of course is to use pure chance or lot. In the Civil War, this was done by drawing the names from a wheel publicly; and a separate drawing was made in each local district. But the present draft will be made more scientifically, in some such way as this:

"Since there are about 4,000 local districts, and about 10,000,000 persons registered, each district contains a maximum of, say, 3,000 persons registered; and in each district these persons have been numbered serially, i. e., 1 to 3,000 in each district. Hence, if a single drawing is made at Washington, from a wheel or other vessel containing numbers 1 to 3,000, this one drawing will suffice for all the districts. E. g., if the first number drawn by hazard at Washington is 359, then every man whose serial number was 359, in every district, will stand No. 1 on the draft list for his district. This one drawing therefore fixes the order of

service automatically for everybody throughout the country. The precise mode of making the drawing is still to be announced by the President.

"(b) But the quota needed is much smaller than the total number of persons liable to serve. How then are the precise individuals finally determined? This is where the draft numbers have their final effect. Suppose that Evanston has 3,000 registered persons, and that 200 is Evanston's quota. This means that the 200 persons needed to fill that quota will be taken in the order of the numbers as drawn at Washington. But this does not mean that the man having draft number 201 will not be needed. For the drawing was made at Washington, necessarily, before the exemption claims were made and allowed; hence, the man who was number 201 in the drawing is nevertheless certain to be called, because the exemptions that will be allowed will cut out many of those ahead of him in the lower draft numbers.

"Therefore, as soon as all the exemptions are settled, the District Board will blank the draft numbers of such exempted persons, and will publish a revised list of the final eligibles; and the State adjutant general will notify each one that he is deemed now to be in the military service.

"But there remains the

"3. *Call for Quota.* Some men, however, will not be needed at first, or perhaps not at all, if they have the high numbers. At a later time the call will be issued for a specified quota for the first army, say, 200 persons for Evanston. Taking, therefore, the first 200 on the final list, that number will be assembled for military training. Later, the remaining quota will be called for. The regulations for this stage of the process have not yet been announced.

"I conclude by repeating that the system is as simple, rational, practical, and just as could be devised. And I challenge any person to prove the contrary."

GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OF INDUSTRIES

Charles R. Van Hise

THAT the law of supply and demand as a regulator of prices has broken down, that the effort to restore competition through the enforcement of the anti-trust act has failed, and that co-operation in business under government control is under present conditions the only reliable method of securing efficient production with justice to the consumer, were assertions made by President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin in an address at the City Club, Wednesday, June 27, 1917. He said:

"There has been a steady advance of prices for the last twenty years, but the advance in the last fifteen months has been at a rapidly accelerated rate. Prices within this period have gone up 100 per cent, 200 per cent, in some cases as much as 400 per cent. These increases have imposed great hardships upon all dependent upon a daily wage or a small salary. It is true that salaries and wages have advanced a little during the same period, perhaps 10 per cent or 15 per cent on the average, but in comparison the cost of the essentials of living has

doubled or quadrupled and the problem confronting the consumer is one which requires national consideration. To cite an example or two: Chicago schools will for this coming year pay \$1,000,000 for coal as against \$400,000 last year. Take the steel business: not long ago I said to a friend that, if conditions did not change, the price of steel billets would go to \$100. He told me that this was impossible, but since that time billets have sold for more than \$100 a ton. We might multiply these cases indefinitely. The price of brimstone has gone up from \$22 to about \$45, so even his Satanic Majesty has to suffer from the high cost of supplies.

"The excess profits of the United States Steel Corporation last year, the amount pocketed after all the usual dividends were paid, was not less than \$250,000,000, and the excess profits of the entire steel industry must have been at least \$500,000,000. The excess profits of the Chicago meat packing firms have been more than \$25,000,000; although not all of the profit has come from meat packing. It has been estimated by Mr.

Herbert Hoover that the excess profits on foodstuffs throughout the United States in the last five months has been in the neighborhood of \$250,000,000.

"It is apparent that the law of supply and demand as a regulator of prices has absolutely broken down in this crisis. It is a fetich which may work in times of normal demand and supply, but not when there is an excess demand for *all* essential commodities.

"The tendency to increase prices, once started is cumulative and the enhancement of prices goes on with increasing velocity. The railroads must pay more for coal. The employes must pay much more for food and clothing; they must therefore have higher pay. The higher expenses of the railroads results in demands of the railroads for higher freights. The vicious circle of enhancing prices once gone around, the conditions are ripe for a second cycle, and then a third, and so on indefinitely; with the result that prices are rising beyond all reason like a spiral ascending to the sky. For fundamental products, as wheat, corn, coal, and iron, due to the unreasonable profits of the producers or manipulators, or both, prices are beyond all reason; and the public is being subjected to gross extortion.

"There is no sound reason why prices for almost all standard articles should be double what they were a year ago and for many of them treble what they were two years ago. The demand exceeds the supply by a moderate percentage; but so futile has been the principle of competition to control prices, when united with co-operation of the producers to control the market and the co-operation of manipulators, that prices have soared toward the sky.

"I do not blame the individual producer for this. I blame instead the system. It is to be assumed that the producers will get all the profits they can. There has also undoubtedly been co-operation for the purpose of controlling the market. If there is any man in this audience who can truthfully say that there is in his business no co-operation between competitors to control prices, I would like to have him tell me so. I have never yet learned of such a business. In Chicago, for example, among hundreds of

local dealers, you will find the same prices charged for coal. The same thing is true of ice and of other standard commodities.

"It has been proposed that this should be remedied by the strict enforcement of the Sherman Act; and there have been attempts to accomplish something in this direction. Those under indictment, have been picked out simply because they are a little more conspicuous than others, but the conviction and fining of a few concerns has not materially altered the situation.

"We have had the Sherman Act on the statute books for twenty-five years and it has proved absolutely futile to prevent co-operation in the enhancement of prices. At the same time we have tried to prevent co-operation in industry, we have enforced co-operation among the railroads through the Interstate Commerce Commission. One law to prevent co-operation and another to enforce it!

"Very recently Secretary of the Interior Lane, in an address at Washington, urged coal operators all over the country to co-operate. Does he know that he is asking them to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, to do the same things that operators in other lines of business have been indicted for? The difference is that he is asking them to co-operate for the good of the public. The fact is that co-operation is inevitable under the conditions which exist today. There is no law which can prevent it because it is so much more profitable to co-operate than to compete.

"But, if co-operation in business is to be allowed, with it must come regulation. Five or six years ago when I urged these ideas they were called heresy and socialism. The idea of a Federal Trade Commission was denounced. Since that time, however, such a commission has been created, although with powers inadequate to deal with the present crisis. This commission now urges the government to commandeer all mines. Personally, I am not in favor of commandeering; I do favor suitable regulation. The war has tremendously accelerated the movement for regulation.

"At present the President has been given power to prevent exports, to determine the priority of shipment. It is

also proposed to give the President power to control food products and to appoint a food administrator who can control the distribution of food. The food bill, as introduced in the House, covered coal as well as food commodities but provision for the control of coal was stricken out before the bill went to the Senate. In the Senate Committee it was forcibly brought out that food prices were not independent of the price of coal and of other essential commodities and that these latter must be brought under governmental control if food prices are not to be exorbitant. So the control of these commodities has been provided for in the bill as it is now in the Senate Committee.

"The bill provides that the government can buy commodities at the cost of production and a fair profit and with a priority over other purchasers. The government has also arranged to buy for our allies. As our allies are buying not only for war purposes, but for the supply of their civilian populations, the powers to be granted to the President will insure fair prices to everybody except the private citizen of the United States unless measures are adopted for their benefit. It is proposed therefore that the government be authorized, in case exorbitant prices are charged, to buy at a fair profit and sell to the general public. This plan, which has been carried out successfully in England, Germany and France, is the same way of dealing with the problem.

"If we are to win the war we cannot expect the people to continue to suffer the extortion they are being subjected to now. Already there is discontent among wage earners. At the present time the English workman pays less for bread made out of American flour than does the American workman. If the wage-earners are to have simply a fair wage they should have the benefit of fair prices.

"Besides the control of prices the government must be allowed to dictate priority of shipment and of manufacture. In England no contract can be filled without an order from the Priority Board. In approving these contracts the Priority Board considers three classes: A—Commodities essential for war; B—

Commodities essential for the maintenance of the civilian population; C—Luxuries. You may be sure that in the present situation very little consideration is given to the last class.

"In America there has been a frenzy of buying far ahead of actual needs. This is one cause of the enhancement of prices. It can be overcome to some extent by a campaign of education, but that is not sufficient. If Priority Boards of the sort which I have described can control distribution this hoarding of supplies can be overcome. If there were not enough coal the Priority Board would see that those consumers most in need would have the benefit of the existing supply in proportion to their needs. The Priority Board would see, for instance, that the Chicago schools should have enough for 100 per cent of their needs, that the railroads should have 100 per cent, that essential industries would get perhaps 90 per cent, that some industries for the production of luxuries would not be granted this amount. This would give the Board complete power over distribution and would be an effective instrument for controlling prices.

"Our wheat crop this year will be about 650,000,000 bushels. The crop of Argentina is a failure and the exportation of wheat has been prohibited. Australia is 50,000,000 bushels short; the amount of the Canadian crop is yet uncertain, but the shortage of labor is likely to make it less than normal.

"We have been accustomed to using about 640,000,000 bushels, or practically the entire wheat crop of the United States this year; but if the allies are not to suffer we must send them this coming year 200,000,000 bushels of wheat. This means that we must reduce our consumption of wheat flour one-third. We must also see, if we are humane, that a reasonable amount of our wheat supply must go to Norway, Sweden and Switzerland and other neutral countries. A plan has been worked out for urging food economy in the household; and a campaign throughout the country will be started very shortly for this purpose.

"At the present time of extraordinary war demands combinations of men for the exaction of exorbitant profits from the sale of the necessities of life, should

be made to realize that they are not patriotic citizens. Patriotism at this moment means that business men must use their influence to insure that the necessities of life be produced and sold at a fair profit.

"There remains another important reform connected with the subject under discussion which perhaps cannot be accomplished just now, but which should be brought about as soon as possible. The Sherman Act should be amended to provide that the 'restraint of trade' prohibited is only that which is detrimental to the public welfare. If such an amendment can be made business men will be able to co-operate publicly, with all their cards on the table. Of course, if this amendment is made, the trade commission should be given full power to determine whether the co-operation is beneficial or not. There is a law in Australia under which all co-operation is prohibited, but this law specifically provides that it shall be a sufficient defense to show that co-operation was beneficial rather than harmful to the public. That is also now a law in England, where co-operation of a beneficial character is allowed.

"There must, of course, be adequate regulation to prevent extortion. There has been in the last few years a great change of sentiment along these lines in the business world. Many of the under-handed practices of earlier days

have been abandoned and the idea is spreading among business men that it is thoroughly mean and unpatriotic to extort exorbitant profits.

"I believe that we shall never go back to the situation before the war. Several years ago I thought that the ideas which I have presented today would some time prevail, but not during my life time. But the government now finds it necessary to adopt all of these measures because they are necessary war measures to protect our people. We will never go back to the notion that supply and demand is a sufficient regulator of prices.

"When the war is over there will be two great alliances of the powers, which will act as economic units. Already these two groups are acting together. We have come to realize the economy of buying on a national scale and this is likely to continue for a considerable period after the war. Even if we do not keep all the measures which we are adopting in war time we shall at least sort out those which we find to be of permanent value. This, it seems to me, is the only way in which socialism can be escaped. It is the man who is making unfair profits out of the necessities of the people who is promoting socialism today.

"I believe that the war will help us introduce a more efficient system of production and distribution than we have had in the past."

AMERICA AND THE WAR

James M. Beck

"THE great dramatist Time never staged a more bewildering spectacle than this war," said James M. Beck, of New York, addressing the City Club May 31st. "Act succeeds act with the most amazing rapidity. It was a most dramatic and significant episode when Arthur Balfour, commissioner from the British Empire, Marshal Joffre from France and a representative of the United States grasped hands at the tomb of Washington. At that moment the United States closed one volume of its history, a volume of brilliant achievement, and opened a new one whose pages at this time we cannot read, but which we know will be of the most momentous

importance to this country. With this act symbolizing America's entrance into the world war—in its inception at least a European war—we bade adieu to our past and saluted the future.

"Who can measure the possibilities of the coming years now that we have been drawn into the European maelstrom? The man who believes that the world will go back to the conditions before 1914 is mistaken. Our world will be entirely different. This war will leave a heritage of hatred among nations greater than has existed at any time since the thirty-year war and it is hardly possible that for years to come there can be anything like the concord and good will between

nations that existed before 1914. That being so, who can look into the future? What alliances with other nations will we form? Alliances there will be, for nations will fight not singly, but in groups. Is it not even possible that Russia, after the war, may revert from its present unstable form of government to an autocratic rule under a Czar less well meaning and amiable than Nicholas and be joined by Germany and Japan in a combination which the United States—with or without allies—may have to fight?

"How far will the United States be able to play its part in the war? It is easy to fall into either excessive pessimism or excessive optimism. The pessimist who depreciates the present generation should remember that history tells us only of the idealism and heroic quality of those past times and has conveniently forgotten the slag and the dross. According to John Adams—whose word, of course, may be discounted somewhat, as he was a chronic fault-finder and pessimist—only one-third of the population during the American Revolution were loyal; the others were either disloyal or merely opportunists, waiting to see which way the cat would jump. Valley Forge was a most glorious incident in our history, yet, of Washington's 9,000 soldiers, 5,000 deserted during the winter. In 1812, after the City of Washington was captured by the British, our country tried to borrow twenty million dollars to defend itself, offering 7% interest and 20% of the capital as bonus, but subscriptions could not be obtained. One man, Stephen Girard, in that crisis, showed his patriotism by taking the whole loan.

"On the other hand, excessive optimism is also in error. I think it is true that the fine spirit of idealism of this nation has been somewhat dulled by our commercialism. If our idealism had been what it was in the past it would have been impossible for this nation after the sinking of the *Lusitania* not to rise as one person in protest against that atrocious act.

"We talk of our economic progress, of our stupendous commercial gains; we boast that we have \$2,500 in wealth for every man, woman and child in the country; we boast but we forget that this wealth has been produced in a large

measure by our immense natural resources and not, as in France, primarily by our efforts. France in this hour of fiery conflict has cultivated her fields almost to the very trenches. Coming West from New York, I saw in contrast to this thousands of acres of good land uncultivated and labor not to be had.

"How are the American people to be aroused in this supreme crisis? They have, to a remarkable extent, been apathetic not only to the concerns of humanity but to the things which concern themselves. The sinking of the *Lusitania* has become so much the dry commonplace of diplomacy that we are no longer aroused by it. Many of our people thought of the war in terms of commercial gain. Throughout the country, there seems to be a lack of the heroic joy with which we ought to go into the war. There is a lack of vision as to the part which America should play.

"I have always been an optimist about the war until the breakdown of Russia, but even if the war should fail I would rather the United States should go down to defeat with its allies than to have stayed out of the war and enriched itself. I say this from considerations of our own interest. If we had stayed out we would have been despised not simply by Germany but by the rest of the world. Even the neutral nations did not trust our motives. We would have been left alone in a precarious position among a group of hostile nations.

"I do not believe that we can arouse our people to the heroic joy they should possess in carrying on the war until we show them that back of our intervention there is a great American ideal—the ideal that in the community of nations the rule of reason must prevail, that nation must not crush nation simply because it is the stronger, that grievances must be settled before the bar of the nations of the world. This is an American tradition. The Declaration of Independence in its opening words submits the cause of the revolution to the judgment of the world. That principle was negatived in the original cause of this war, and if we are not to adopt the morals of the cave man, we must choose this method of settling our grievances.

"Another reason why we should enter this war is that the ideal of chivalry among nations has been violated. We are going to war to assert that chivalry among nations, which up to the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania had some force and effect in the world.

"But after all I believe the idea which will appeal most strongly to our people in support of the war is that we owe a debt to France which we ought to pay. When we were a little nation without means for the manufacture of muskets and ammunition, France, with splendid chivalry and at a considerable cost to herself, came to our relief and sent us quantities of arms. Without the aid of these Washington's army would have faded away. It is up to us now to help France in her time of trial.

"I have seen France twice since the breaking out of the war; first, during the days of mobilization. The people were transfigured. The shepherd left his flock, the farmer his plow, the city man took his place in the ranks to defend France. I saw France again last

summer. I was at Verdun. Do you realize that between February and August over 240,000 Frenchmen gave their lives or were wounded or captured defending that eastern gateway to France? Oh, if we could only have the splendid heroism of France! It was France which had to take the brunt of the attack when the German blow fell. The battle of the Marne, perhaps the greatest battle of all time, in view of the number of men engaged and its importance to civilization, was won by the irresistible valor and superb idealism of the French people.

"In going over the battle field of the Marne I have seen the graves of many of the soldiers inscribed with the words 'A Child of France.' That reveals the measure of the devotion of the French people to their country. France—and I say this without sentimentality—is their mother. What we need in this country, as we go into the war, is a new birth, a finer spirit of patriotism, a feeling that our country is our mother and that we must defend her with all the courage and devotion that we have."

OUR NATIONAL FOOD SUPPLY

Prof. Eugene Davenport

THE attitude of the farmer toward the increase and conservation of the food supply in wartime and what we must do to meet him half way were discussed before the City Club in an address June 19, by Prof. Eugene Davenport, Dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois. He said, in brief:

"In talking about the food situation the newspapers have said a great deal as to the attitude of 'the farmer.' To speak truly, there is no such thing as 'the farmer.' There are about six million farmers in the United States and they are as fully diversified as any other class of the population. They belong to all religions and races, are of all ages and represent many different points of view. There are, however, general facts that run through the profession—a kind of common denominator, so to speak.

"One peculiarity of the farmer is that he is both an employer and an employee. There are, of course, farmers who own

land and do not operate it, but I speak mainly of the others—those whose occupation is primarily that of a self-employed laborer. Farming is in fact about the only class of labor that is not protected by union rules. The farmer puts no limitation upon his output as the union man does. During the year he probably works no more than other people but during the growing season he puts in all the time he can in daylight hours.

"The war-time effort to speed up the farmer has, therefore, its limitations. He is already cultivating practically all the acreage that he can and is at the same time having to meet a serious labor shortage owing to the exodus from the land and the efforts to get boys from the farm to enlist. The farmer is already doing what he can to speed up production. For the first time in my life I have seen women cultivating corn—not peasant women but women of education who are doing it because they have been told that

the world is short of food. There has never been a time in America when men, women and children have worked so intensively on the land.

"But there is a limit to what the farmer can do. If something is not done to stop the drain from the farms through enlistments there will be less food raised than ever before. It is of no use to tell the farmer to put more acreage under cultivation when he cannot get sufficient labor than it is to farm properly what is already under cultivation.

"Another peculiarity of the farmer as a laborer is that he is in no position to control the return he gets from his labor. Many farmers, of course, hold their crops for future sales, but as a rule crops are sold as soon as harvested. The farmer is often prevented from marketing his product at the most profitable time by the impossibility of getting cars to transport it. I know of an estate in Illinois which had a standing order for a year and a half but was unable to get enough cars to move its crops. For the same reason the farmer is often unable to bring in fertilizer to restore the productivity of his land. There are miles and miles of empty cars on the side tracks but the farmer is unable to get them. The farmer cannot understand that—and cannot understand why the railroad man is unable to explain.

"Now it is plain, of course, that if the farmer is to be cut off from labor on the one hand and from access to his market on the other he cannot expect to contribute very successfully to an increased demand for food. With a shortage in the world's food supply, with nearby grain elevators and his own bins full, with labor and transportation facilities hard to get, what is the farmer going to do? Somehow the system of distribution seems to have broken down.

"The farmer believes that some one is juggling with affairs. He reads the same papers that other people read and he sees that the government paid \$95 for steel which was confessed to have cost only \$45. He knows perhaps, as the Governor of Colorado told me, that wheat which went to \$3.00 or more in the market was bought from the farmer for less than \$1.00, and that none of this profit went to the farmer. He knows that *not* everyone is trying to

stimulate production or facilitate distribution.

"The farmer is told that he ought to market his own crops. It is probably true that he can deliver to the consumer and save money to both, but as an efficient producer he has no time to transport his product to the consumer. Distribution is a business in itself and if we permit it to be taken over either by the consumer or the producer, one or the other will suffer. The farmer is too busy as a producer to engage in this business. He can, of course, combine with other farmers and employ someone to undertake the work of distribution, as was the case with the Western Fruit Exchange. Before that organization was formed, the return from shipments of oranges to the East often did not pay the freight, but thereafter, and only because the organization was strong enough to secure legislation which would insure an efficient handling of the product, the business became a profitable one. It is doubtful, however, if the country should permit the farmers to control distribution.

"What is the attitude of the farmer toward price fixing? You can't make him believe that the government proposes to fix prices for his benefit. In the past he has produced food for the mere return for his labor and the wear and tear on his machinery. Fertility has been thrown in—much of it has been wasted. The farmer, in many cases, has not even been able to afford fertilizer to restore the productivity of his land. This poor return to the farmer may seem to be contradicted by the great increase in the value of land. It is true that Illinois land is valued as high as \$300 per acre but very little land bought at that figure has ever paid out. We are not really doing business on \$300 land. We are doing business on land that was originally obtained from the government for \$1.00 or \$1.25 per acre. The farmer, as I said, does not believe that price fixing will be for his benefit. He understands that any minimum price which will be fixed will probably be the actual price paid.

"If we are to increase production we must provide more acreage. How will price fixing affect this acreage? If the government fixes a price of \$1.00 a

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bushel for wheat, will it increase or decrease it? The latter, of course, for the farmer will naturally turn to the production of other commodities. If prices are to be fixed they must be generous prices to the farmer or they will fail of their purpose in stimulating production.

"One of the difficulties of price fixing is that it is impossible to tell until a crop has been harvested what the farmer ought to have for it. The farmer raises his crops by the acre—he sells them by the bushel. It costs as much to cultivate an acre which has a small yield as one which has a large yield. With prices fixed in advance the farmer may get more than he deserves in a good year; if a bad year he may get less. It is impossible, therefore, in advance of the harvesting of the crop to fix a just price.

"The farmer, as against the policy of price-fixing, believes in a plan endorsed last February at a conference in St. Louis, called by the Secretary of Agriculture—a very important conference, but one not much noticed in the newspapers. That plan proposes that the Department of Agriculture shall keep a record during the growing season showing the costs of production. It can then estimate what return the farmer ought to have and the government can take over a part of the product at that price. If it is found that unjust prices are being charged the government can then sell in competition and undue profits can be eliminated. If this plan had been in force we would not have had either \$3.00 wheat or 10c sugar today.

"I fear that if, on the other hand, an attempt is made to fix prices directly and to please the farmer with a high minimum and the consumer with a low maximum, the business of distribution may be broken down. We should insure, of course, that no enormous war profits are made. The trouble seems to be that there are too many people who do not want to be producers but want to speculate on what others produce, but some form of regulation in the open markets offers many obvious advantages over absolutely fixed prices."

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WAR SERVICE RECORD

Eighty-nine members of the City Club, so far as information has been obtained, are in the active service of the United States in the army and navy. A list of them is printed below. Corrections or additions should be sent to the editor.

American Ambulance Service in France.

H. M. CONARD.
MITCHELL DAWSON.
J. ARNOLD SCUDDER.

Aviation Service.

GALE WILLARD, *Aviation School, France.*
E. P. LIVINGSTON.

U. S. Navy.

AYRES BOAL, *navigating officer, U. S. S. "Hawk," Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Illinois.*
EDWIN H. CLARK, *architect in charge of construction, Great Lakes, Ill.*
HERBERT H. EVANS, *lieutenant, Norfolk Navy Yard.*
KARL D. LOOS, *1st sergeant, U. S. Marine Corps.*
DR. JOHN F. URIE, *Great Lakes Training Station.*

U. S. Army—Artillery.

A. K. EDDY, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
GUY L. JONES, *1st lieutenant, 332nd Field Artillery, Camp Grant.*
E. R. LILLARD, *sergeant, Battery F., 2nd Illinois Field Artillery.*
F. O. MASON, *lance corporal, 149th Field Artillery.*
HENRY C. A. MEAD, *2nd lieutenant.*
JOHN S. MILLER, JR., *major, Camp Grant.*
P. F. W. PECK, *captain and regimental adjutant, 333rd Field Artillery, Camp Grant.*
NORMAN H. PRITCHARD, *2nd lieutenant, 333rd Field Artillery, Camp Grant.*
K. K. RICHARDSON, *Battery E, 149th Field Artillery.*
ALBERT A. SERCOMB.
HENRY F. TENNEY, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
WALTER B. WOLF, *lieutenant, 149th Field Artillery.*

U. S. Army—Engineers.

J. B. JACKSON, *captain, Engineers Officers' Reserve Corps, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.*
PETER JUNKERSFELD, *major, Officers' Reserve Corps, War Dept., Washington.*

WILLIAM S. TAUSSIG, *captain, Engineers' Corps, division staff, Camp Grant, Rockford.*
FRANCIS W. TAYLOR, *captain, 3rd Reserve Engineers.*

U. S. Army—Infantry.

M. A. BEATON, JR., *1st lieutenant.*
PALMER D. EDMUNDS, *1st lieutenant, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.*
WM. H. A. JOHNSON, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
HAROLD E. POTTER, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
PRESTON KUMLER, *captain, Camp Grant.*
WM. J. MACK, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
W. McM. RUTTER, *captain, Camp Grant.*

U. S. Army—Cavalry.

L. S. HARPOLE, *2nd lieutenant, Fort Worth, Texas.*
ORVILLE J. TAYLOR, JR., *captain, Camp Grant.*
U. S. Army—Quartermaster's Department.
CLIFFORD ARRICK, *major.*
A. K. ATKINSON, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
C. B. BENJAMIN, *2nd lieutenant.*
D. J. BEATON, *2nd lieutenant.*
MORTON D. CAHN, *2nd lieutenant.*
E. T. GUNDLACH, *2nd lieutenant.*
E. L. KOHLER, *2nd lieutenant, Camp Grant.*
J. ALDEN SEARS, *2nd lieutenant.*
PERRY M. SHEPHERD, *captain, in France.*
GEORGE TURNER, *captain.*

U. S. Army—Medical Reserve Corps.

DR. FRANK BILLINGS, *chief commissioner, American Red Cross Mission to Russia.*
DR. L. W. BREMERMAN, *lieutenant, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.*
DR. J. A. BRITTON, *1st lieutenant, on special duty examining soldiers for tuberculosis.*
DR. VERNON C. DAVID, *captain, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.*
DR. NATHAN S. DAVIS III, *captain, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind.*
DR. JOHN FAVILL, *1st lieutenant, Base Hospital Unit No. 14.*
DR. FREDERICK R. GREEN, *captain, Fort Riley, Kan.*

DR. DEAN D. LEWIS, *major and director, Base Hospital No. 13.*

DR. HARRY MOCK, *lieutenant, Fort Riley, Kan.*

T. W. OSBORNE, *ambulance driver, Hospital Unit No. 11.*

C. J. PERFITT, *sergeant, Base Hospital, Unit No. 11.*

DR. GEORGE H. SIMMONS, *major, member General Medical Board.*

DR. FREDERICK TEST, *captain, orthopedic examinations.*

DR. WILLIAM H. WILDER, *member Medical Examining Board, M. R. C.*

DR. CLARENCE L. WHEATON, *major.*

DR. CHARLES SPENCER WILLIAMSON, *major and commanding officer, Company No. 2, Fort Riley, Kan.*

U. S. Army—Miscellaneous.

H. BENINGTON, *captain, Office of Chief Signal Officer, Construction Division, Washington, D. C.*

JAMES W. KNOX.

NATHAN WILLIAM MACCHESNEY, *colonel, judge advocate general, Ill. N. G. and N. R., assigned to active duty U. S. Army as major, judge advocate, U. S. R. Headquarters, Central Department, Chicago.*

HUGH McCULLOCH, *2nd lieutenant, adjutant-general's department, Camp Grant.*

JOHN R. REILLY, *1st lieutenant, ordnance department.*

THOMAS W. WINSTON, *lieutenant-colonel, adjutant-general's department, Chicago.*

JOSEPH S. WRIGHT, *civilian aid on staff of commanding officer, Camp Logan, Houston, Texas.*

Second Officers' Reserve Training Camp—Fort Sheridan.

V. R. ANDERSON.

ERLE BLAIR.

JOSEPH T. BOWEN, JR.

JOHN S. BROCKSMIT.

WILBUR L. BUCHANAN.

ARTHUR W. BURNHAM.

ROGER B. FAHERTY.

LESTER L. FALK.

GORDON HALL.

PAUL W. HARPER.

ROBERT T. MACK.

H. S. MARSH.

DOWNER McCORD.

DUANE McNABB.

M. G. SIMONDS.

RALPH M. SNYDER.

D. A. TOMLINSON.

BEVERLY B. VEDDER.

Training Cantonments.

SAMUEL A. GREELEY, *Chief Sanitary Engineer, Battle Creek, Mich.*

J. PORTER JOPLIN, *Division Auditor for Camp Chester, Battle Creek, Mich., and Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.*

FRANK A. WINDES, *in charge of military road construction and repairs, Battle Creek, Mich.*

Messrs. Pond and Pond are designing a dignified and attractive bulletin board for use in the Club's lobby which will contain the war service list of the Club, showing the names and so far as possible the address and occupations of members of the Club engaged in Army, Navy or Departmental Service.

THE FAMILY-ALLOWANCE-COMPENSATION-AND-INSURANCE BILL

Julian W. Mack

One of the important war measures now before Congress is the bill (H. R. 5723) designed to amend the Bureau of Insurance Act so as to insure the men in the army and navy. This bill, which was introduced into Congress August 10th, was drafted by Judge Julian W. Mack, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Compensation for Enlisted Men of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. At luncheon on August 17th Judge Mack explained to members of the City Club the different features of this bill and urged the necessity of securing prompt action by Congress. His address in part was as follows:

"The calling into military service of many thousands of our citizens has made inevitable the problem of the relief of the families of the enlisted men.

The bill which I am to discuss today is an attempt to provide adequate legislation to meet this problem.

"Our government intends not only to win this war but also to give a square deal to its fighting men. It realizes the necessity of strengthening the morale of the men by freeing them from anxiety about the welfare of their families while they are away fighting our battles. Our men must know that when the government is enlisting the soldiers it is also enlisting the rest of us to do our duty by them. As the secretary of the treasury has said, when we draft a wage earner we call not only him but the entire family to the flag; the sacrifice entailed is not divisible.

"The measure of justice which the government should give the soldiers who defend us may be summed up in this way: The government, not as an act of charity,

but as a matter of compensation, must assume the risk the soldiers must face when they go into battle. It recognizes that the private soldier with a pay of thirty or thirty-three dollars a month cannot support his family. But no less important, it keeps in mind the principle that a soldier's first duty is to his family and that in proportion to his ability he must share responsibility for its support.

"The bill which has been drawn up with these principles in mind proposes to do the following things:

"First, all enlisted men with dependent families will be required to make an allotment of part of their pay to support their families, and the government will supplement this by a special grant based upon the size of the family.

"Second, the government will pay compensation in the case of disablement or death, this amount also to be determined by the number of dependents.

"Third, the bill provides for the rehabilitation and re-education of those who are seriously crippled in battle. Every effort will be made to enable the injured soldier to fill a useful place in life and to assume a fair share of his support.

"Fourth, the government will offer life insurance to its soldiers at a rate so reasonable that every private can afford to carry insurance up to \$10,000.

"That part of the bill which deals with family allowance makes its compulsory for enlisted men with wife and children dependent upon them to make a monthly allotment of not less than \$15 nor more than half their pay for their families support. A wife may waive this allotment, but this waiver must be accompanied by evidence of her ability to support herself and children. The government's allowance to a soldier's family has for its maximum amount, \$50 per month. A wife is to receive \$15 a month, while a wife and three children will receive \$37.50.

"In order to make clear the working of this bill, take the case of a private soldier who has dependent upon him a wife and three children. He will be required to allot them half of his monthly pay which would be \$16.50 while he is serving abroad. To this the government will add \$37.50, making a total of \$54 a month.

"The bill authorizes the Secretary of War to deposit with the government an amount equal to the allotment in cases where men have no dependents. This is because it is thought unwise for American soldiers in France to have the full amount of their pay to spend. Too much money is not good for the morale of the troops and besides their more liberal pay might arouse jealousy on the part of the European soldiers.

"The bill does not take into account what private agencies like the Red Cross and relief societies may give. Where the amount is inadequate to meet the expenses of a family, private organizations or the state or municipality will be expected to give supplementary aid. It is especially desired that the Red Cross and similar agencies provide the personal service and friendly aid which is even more valuable than gifts of money.

"Another feature of the bill is the provision to pay compensation in case of death or disability. It is called compensation rather than pension, because the word 'pension' has some disagreeable connotations. The compensation is given along lines laid down in the Workmen's Compensation Act with the exception that the family and not the individual is made the unit of calculation. In a factory if a workman is injured, he is dealt with individually. In the army, the family is taken as the unit and determines the amount to be paid. This is only just because the compulsion to serve is exercised not only as against the man but as against his family as well.

"If a man dies of his wounds the government will pay his widow 25% of his pay but not less than \$30 a month. A widow and two children will receive 40% of his pay but not less than \$40 a month. The maximum compensation for death is fixed at \$200 a month. In case of total disability the man will be paid by the government a minimum of 40% of his pay but not less than \$40 a month. This amount increases in proportion to the size of his family. Partial disability compensation shall be the percentage of total disability compensation equal to the degree of reduction in earning capacity.

"In addition to this compensation the wounded man will be furnished by the government with such medical, surgical,

and hospital services and supplies, including artificial limbs and similar appliances as may be deemed useful and reasonably necessary.

"But while compensation is necessary on any theory of justice rehabilitation is something which is even more important. Giving the crippled man a new start in life is a fundamental obligation of the government. It is important that the men who are being paid for the service they have rendered their country should not become pauperized and lose their desire for self-support. The bill, therefore, provides that those who are potentially able must take a vocational course that will fit them, as far as possible, for a useful life. If they refuse to do this, their compensation will be temporarily forfeited. On the other hand, the crippled men who succeed in an economic way will not be deprived of their compensation because of their success. In other words, the compensation is given for the injury and that injury remains with him in life, even though thanks to re-education, it has not entirely destroyed his earning power in the world.

"While the plan is for all allowances to be payable in monthly installments, provision is made for a part of the compensation for disability to be commuted for a lump sum. This is to be done only in exceptional cases where it seems that the best interests of the family are conserved by having a cash sum for investment purposes.

"The final feature of the bill deals with war insurance for our fighting men. The allotments and compensation above mentioned represent what the government is going to do directly for the men and their families. If it stopped there adequate justice would not be rendered because enlistment means for most men a rate of insurance that is prohibitive. If the government asks them to go into the most hazardous employment for the sake of their country, thereby enormously increasing the expense of carrying insurance, simple justice demands that the government insure them at a rate at least as low as that enjoyed by the men who stay at home. For this reason, the bill provides that the government shall offer life insurance to its soldiers and sailors practically at cost, in any amount from

\$1,000 to \$10,000. It is estimated that the premium on this insurance will be less than \$8.00 per thousand. Such a low rate is possible since the government will not have to pay heavy overhead expenses—advertising, agents' commissions, medical fees, taxation, etc. In any event, the government ought to bear the extra cost of the higher war mortality and is justified in charging this account to war expenses.

"This insurance will cover both death and total disability, that is, the insurance will mature not only on the death of the insured but from the time when he is totally disabled. The insurance will be yearly renewable term insurance and after the war may be converted into other forms of insurance such as 20 payment life or endowment policies.

"The insurance is to be payable in installments, is non-assignable and free from the claims of creditors. It is to be limited to the wife and children and other specified relatives and must be applied for within 120 days after the terms are promulgated or their enlistment into active service. For those who fall before they have had an opportunity to insure within the prescribed period of 120 days, insurance that will give monthly installments of \$25 for 20 years, or for the life of the disabled men, will be deemed to have been applied for and issued.

"We must expect considerable opposition to the bill on the part of insurance companies. They approve of the compensation features of the bill but say it is a mistake for the government to enter into the field of insurance which is a private enterprise. Their opposition is based not only upon the fact that the government is offering insurance at a lower rate than they can afford to give. They doubtless see that this bill, if enacted into a law, will represent one further step toward social insurance.

"We cannot, of course, predict the future. Maybe this government insurance will be widely extended after the war. Whether or not this will happen, it is our present duty to give our soldiers an opportunity to carry a reasonable amount of insurance at a cost within their means.

"This is a brief outline of this war measure. Among its claims for consideration is the fact that it puts a barrier in

the way of simply service compensation, which is one of the evils of our present pension system. Whatever we do for our soldiers we must not destroy a man's desire to support himself.

"If this measure meets with the ap-

proval of the American people, it should be enacted into law promptly so that when our men go out to fight our battles they may be cheered by the thought that they are not to bear the whole burden alone."

SOME DANGERS OF PRICE CONTROL

Harold G. Moulton

The probable results of a policy of price control in this country during the war and an alternative policy were discussed by Prof. Harold G. Moulton, of the Department of Political Economy, University of Chicago, at the City Club, August 14. He said:

"The conduct of war on an extensive scale is invariably accompanied by a rapid rise in the cost of living. The increase in prices is not confined to supplies that are required in great quantities by the armies in the field; it seems to apply with more or less severity to all classes of goods, to practically everything that enters into the general consumption of the people. The high cost of living, therefore, becomes one of the most acute of the internal problems connected with war; and the regulation of prices in the interests of the masses is regarded as one of the most important duties of the government.

"There appear to be two lines of reasoning—perhaps one might better say two sorts of reactions—that favor government control of prices. One is a popular argument and the other may be called for want of a better term, a 'scientific argument.' In the view of the general public high prices in war time are in considerable measure the result of manipulation by traitorous malefactors who take advantage of the government's needs and the public's ignorance and lack of organization—who reap where they have not sown, who make fortunes, indeed, without rendering any equivalent in service to society. The control of prices in the interests of the many as against the machinations of the few, therefore, makes a simple and elementary appeal to our notions of right and wrong, to our sense of plain fairness and justice.

"Closely associated with this reason for price control is the idea that large profits should not be permitted, even when they

do not result from manipulation, monopolizing or unfair practices, for the simple reason that it is unpatriotic to reap advantage in any way from the government's needs. 'Profiteering' becomes in war time, a new form of evil, one which should be suppressed with a strong hand.

"The more carefully reasoned argument for price control recognizes that the causes of rising prices cannot be wholly ascribed to the machinations of speculators, traders, middlemen and monopolist, or to an enormous government demand that depend, indeed, mainly upon fundamental underlying conditions, upon the demand for any supply of commodities in general, or as some would prefer to put it, upon the quantity of money and credit available for purchasing such goods. But the 'scientific' argument for price control does not depend upon the causes of rising prices; it merely accepts the fact of high prices, and uses this fact as a point of departure. The real arguments are: First, that the high prices which the government has to pay for the materials it needs, greatly increases the money cost of the war and necessitates a heavier burden of taxation than would otherwise be required. Second, the high prices that the public is compelled to pay for commodities that enter into general consumption result in lowering the standard of living of the masses, in consequence of the failure of wages and salaries to advance with equal rapidity. This loss of consuming power falls with unusual severity upon people of moderate incomes, upon those least able to stand the burden, and hence is one of the most important of the indirect burdens of war. Indirectly, these losses may be regarded as costs of the war, costs which fall in inverse ratio to ability to pay thus violating the most fundamental principle of just taxation. Price control is, therefore, a necessary

corrective of the inequalities of war burdens.

"Pushing this economic argument still further, price control is necessary in order to prevent the poor from having inadequate consumption of wealth. The masses of society must be kept above the level of mere subsistence, in order that all may be physically efficient and mentally alert for the onerous business of war. Indeed, when a nation is pressed to the wall in a war of attrition, price control, together with a distributive dictatorship for the necessities of life, becomes an indispensable agency for equalizing wealth, for parcelling out the national store of goods in accordance with the physical requirements of people, rather than to the fatness of their respective pocketbooks, thereby postponing as long as possible the date of final exhaustion.

"Finally, price control has its political purpose. Just distribution of the burdens of war and alleviation of the economic pressure upon the lower classes serves to suppress the rising tide of discontent and internal dissension; it helps to maintain a united front and to buttress the courage of all classes at home; while at the same time it affords small comfort or hope to the enemies abroad. In a prolonged struggle it is indispensable as a means of maintaining the morale of the people.

"The agitation for the regulation of prices usually develops rather late in a war, but in the present conflict we are beginning very early not only to agitate the question, but also to develop the machinery necessary to effective control. This in part is owing to the world-wide effect of the long continued struggle in Europe, the enormous rise in prices abroad having found concurrent reflection in rapidly rising prices in the United States during the past two years; and in part it is due to mere imitation of the policy of the nations of Europe. According to present indications we will, within a few months, institute an extensive system of price control for the necessities of life and for munitions and materials of war.

"It is the purpose of this paper to direct attention to some serious dangers in connection with price regulation in the form in which it will likely be de-

veloped in the coming months. There are two sorts of problems in connection with price control, one relating to the effective enforcement of the provisions of law, and the other relating to the industrial (and military) effects of such regulation. It is not a part of my present purpose to discuss routine problems of administration; nor is it my intention to discuss *all* the consequences of price regulation. I shall confine the discussion to the relation of price regulation to the rapid mobilization of our industrial resources for the business of war. In order clearly to reveal the problems involved it will be necessary to outline first, the industrial requirements of the present situation.

"In all ordinary wars the problem of industrial mobilization is comparatively simple. It involves first, raising revenue for the government. This revenue is then expended by the government for war supplies—ships, munitions, and materials. These supplies are in part purchased abroad, and in part from domestic producers, from already existing industrial establishments whose ordinary peacetime production is of a kind identical with the government's needs, or so nearly of the government pattern that only a relatively minor reorganization of processes is required. Cases in point are steel plants, ship yards, clothing factories, etc., which usually require but little rehabilitation in order to produce supplies of the precise type required by the government. But the present war is unusual in two important respects, in consequence of which the problem of industrial mobilization is essentially different from what it has been in previous wars.

"In the first place, it is impossible for the United States to receive any appreciable aid from *outside*, that is, from other countries. Most of the world is at war and the available supplies of the remaining 'neutrals' are already mortgaged to other belligerents. In consequence, the ships, munitions, supplies and food required must all be produced by the current energy of the American people. As a nation we cannot borrow the sinews of war from outsiders on our promise to pay them back at some future date. We cannot, therefore, in any real sense pass the burdens or costs of war on to the next generation. The *things* with which

we are to fight must be produced and paid for as we go.

"In the second place, the present conflict is being conducted on so tremendous a scale that the supplies required during the first year of the war cannot possibly all be produced by the usual process of utilizing existing steel plants, clothing establishments, ship yards, etc., for the manufacture of war materials. The allied governments are planning to spend \$10,000,000,000 in the markets of the United States during the current year for war supplies. Can we produce \$10,000,000,000 of supplies from existing munition plants and from other factories that are readily adapted to the production of war supplies? The answer is an unqualified and overwhelmingly negative. Two lines of analysis will reveal the true situation.

"One way of looking at the problem is to find out what proportion \$10,000,000,000 is of the total annual production of the United States, that is, what proportion of our national energy in terms of labor power and machine power would be required to turn out \$10,000,000,000 worth of war materials.

"The most reliable estimates of the annual value of the products of American industry give a total of from thirty-six to forty billions. Roughly twenty-five per cent of our national energy will, therefore, be required to produce the supplies demanded by the first year's program. It is a rather obvious conclusion, therefore, that no simple process of asking manufacturers in lines closely related to war business to speed up and turn out \$10,000,000,000 supplies for the government will suffice to meet the needs of the situation.

"Another method of approach to the problem is to take some particular type of war material, such as iron and steel, and ascertain if we have a sufficient number of munition factories to produce the quantities required. The recent report of the plans of the United States War Department show that the department should raise for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, \$5,917,878,347.98 of revenue. The items enumerated call for iron and steel, for ordnance stores and ammunition, for automatic machine rifles, for armored motor cars, for armament of coast fortifications, for submarine

bases, for submarine mines, for aeroplanes, etc. It is impossible from the data furnished to estimate precisely what percentage of the huge total must be spent for iron and steel, but on the most conservative of estimates, it appears that the war department wishes \$2,000,000,000 of iron and steel products. But to this total must be added the enormous amounts required for the emergency fleet and for the navy's new warships, cruisers, submarines, destroyers, etc. The emergency fleet must be as large as we can possibly make it; for it appears more and more that the defensive strength of the allies primarily depends upon the numbers of ships that we can furnish within the next year or two. Finally, we must still add to the total of iron and steel demanded, the great quantities of structural steel required for the upbuilding of the shattered and inadequate transport and industrial equipment of France and Russia, and the enormous supplies of munitions that our allies must have before the grand offensive can hope to succeed. For the fiscal year ending June 3, 1917, we exported \$1,100,000,000 of iron and steel products.* Should we do less now that our strength is definitely and officially cast in the scales against Germany? Can we hope to break the iron will of the Hohenzollerns unless we employ against them vastly greater quantities of iron than has yet been used? Certainly the war has taught that defensive trench warfare can be overcome only by the use of unlimited steel. Costly as this steel may be, it is still less costly than man power, than the human lives that would otherwise be sacrificed before the war could end.

"What now do these totals of iron and steel aggregate? It would appear that they cannot possibly equal less than \$4,000,000,000 of steel products, to be produced in the United States this current year. Latest estimates from the treasury department indicate that we are to raise \$17,000,000,000 this year; and that \$10,000,000,000 are to be spent for materials and munitions of war, \$4,000,000,000 for iron and steel products is but 40 per cent of the total for the most indis-

*O. C. Austin, Statistician for the National City Bank, New York. In the Americas, Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 3.

pensable of all war weapons. It would seem from these rough estimates that \$4,000,000,000 is a very conservative figure. But after all, we need not concern ourselves with exact figures. It is enough that we should have as many billions of iron and steel manufactures as we can possibly produce, in order that we may end in the shortest possible time.

Let us now inquire if we have munition plants in sufficient number to produce \$4,000,000,000 of iron and steel for war purposes. According to the statistical abstract of the United States the total value of all manufactures of iron and steel products in 1915 was \$1,236,318,458.[†] The figures for 1916 are not yet available, but estimates indicate that the total will hardly reach \$1,800,000,000. It appears, therefore, that if *all* the manufacturers of iron and steel in the United States were of war materials, we should have a total equal of less than half the amount required by this year's war program. In fact, moreover, not all of the existing plants will be devoted to the production of munitions. Much steel must be used in keeping existing munitions plants in repair; there are many industries auxiliary to the business of war that require great quantities of steel, for maintenance and up-keep and for extensions; and there are many other industries that will obtain iron and steel even though such industries are non-essential for war purposes. One has only to look about him and observe the use of steel in ordinary building operations, for instance, to see for himself that this is true. The widespread belief that we should have 'business as usual' results in a very considerable diversion of iron and other war materials to non-war uses. The Council of National Defense has recently made a patriotic appeal to business managers urging that they reduce their demands for steel as much as possible. This will doubtless be of considerable assistance in saving iron and steel for war purposes; but it must be remembered that voluntary sacrifice of this sort is far from one hundred per cent effective. All will be inclined to fix their minimum requirements fairly high, and many will follow

the easy method of 'letting George do the sacrificing.'

"It follows from the foregoing analysis that if we are to procure the requisite production of iron and steel this year we must make up the deficiency in one of the following ways: First, by increasing the output of existing plants; second, by constructing new plants; or, third, by converting other industrial establishments into munitions factories. With reference to the first alternative the Iron Age tells us in a recent issue that all the existing plants, including the new construction of the past three years, are already producing virtually at full capacity.

"The second alternative holds little more promise, for it usually requires more than a year to construct a steel plant; and, moreover, steel is used in the building of the plant itself. To build a large number of steel plants, therefore, is to consume large quantities of steel without any hope of return in the present year. I am not here arguing that no new plants should be constructed, for we must plan not for one year only, but for several; I am merely pointing out that not much, if any, help may be expected from the second alternative during the first year.

"The third alternative possesses a substantial advantage in that it utilizes existing industrial plants and thereby saves great quantities of structural steel. It reduces to a minimum the use of iron and steel in the process of procuring the means for new steel production; though new lines of manufacture obviously cannot be effected without the use of considerable quantities of iron and steel products, in the form of special machinery, if not in the plant itself. The third alternative also possesses an indispensable advantage in that it is quicker than the second, and speed is all important. We must tremendously increase our output of iron and steel products in the shortest possible time if we are to render our maximum aid in the struggle, perchance if we are to win the war at all. The rehabilitation of our industrial plants for the manufacture of war materials is, therefore, the paramount requirement of the time.

"In the foregoing analysis we have used iron and steel for illustration. The analysis applies, though perhaps in less

[†]Statistical Abstract of the United States (1916), p. 713.

degree, to the production of all the other forms of war supplies, khaki, cotton, wool, leather, food, wood, cement, brick, etc. If we are to render our maximum service in the war we must attract labor and capital into the production of these indispensable war supplies.

"Now for the dangers of price control. Several forms of price control have been suggested in one source or another, but the one that is most commonly advocated, the one that makes the strongest appeal to conservative public opinion, is price control based on cost of production. It is believed that industries, even those producing war supplies, are entitled to 'reasonable' profits. And 'reasonable' profits have to be reckoned from a basis of cost. Let us assume that six per cent is a reasonable profit, then a plant producing a commodity at a unit cost (including selling costs) of \$1.00 should be permitted to sell at not more than \$1.06. To the uninitiated the problem of price control seems, therefore, a relatively simple problem.

"I shall here pass over the difficult, if not impossible problems involved in ascertaining the precise unit cost in any particular establishment, and confine myself to the problem of the varying costs in different plants engaged in the same line of activity. Plant A has a cost of \$1.00; plant B of \$1.10, and plant C of \$1.20. These differences of cost may be due to various causes: Differences in location, difference in management, difference in volume of output, etc. But it is clear that the product of all is imperatively required. Price control, therefore, must not force any of them out of business. Now if the price fixed were \$1.06 it would give a reasonable profit to plant A, but it would not even cover costs for plants B and C. The price must obviously be high enough to give a 'reasonable' profit to the plant with the *highest* cost of production, with *marginal* cost, to use the common term of the economist. This means concretely, in the case before us, a price of \$1.26. It should be noted, however, that this obviously means more than 'reasonable' profits for all plants whose cost is less than \$1.20. It means in certain cases enormous rates of dividend for certain peculiarly efficient or peculiarly fortunate establishments.

"This necessity of basing prices on the

marginal or highest cost of production in existing plants has been discussed in various quarters of late. It is suggested, for instance, in one of William Hard's articles in a recent number of the *New Republic* and in one of the publications of the National City Bank. The President apparently had it in mind when he recently spoke of profits that would insure efficiency of production and make possible replacement and extensions as well. But thus far I have been unable to find any recognition of the necessity of using as the basis of price fixing a cost that is actually higher than the marginal cost in existing factories. What do I mean?

"I mean that not only must price control not drive existing factories out of the production of war supplies, but that it must not cut off the inducements to business men to shift from non-war industries to war business. We have seen that the paramount necessity is industrial reorganization, the shifting of labor and capital from lines of activity that are unimportant for war purposes to the lines that are imperatively necessary. Price control, in the interests of the general consuming public, or as a means of lessening the money costs of the government for materials, must not be allowed to stand in the way of industrial mobilization. Let us consider the possible dangers.

"X is a manufacturer of a commodity that is unimportant for war purposes. His plant could be made over into an establishment for the manufacture of war supplies at a cost of \$100,000. He reasons that since he has had no experience in this particular line of manufacture his management will not be very efficient the first year. Furthermore, his location is not favorable for this business, and his transportation costs for raw materials and unfinished products will, therefore, be unusually heavy. He knows that there is a scarcity of labor that is skilled in this line of work and that to get laborers at all he must offer high enough wages to induce them to leave steady positions elsewhere and cast their lot with him for a period of indefinite duration. He must, therefore, count on highly paid, yet inefficient labor. He estimates his total outlay and finds that his cost would approximate \$1.40 per unit, as

compared with a top cost of \$1.20 for existing plants in that line. That is to say, his cost would be \$1.40 if he could charge off depreciation on this \$100,000 expended in rehabilitation at the usual rate. But the duration of the war is uncertain. It may be that he will have to re-rehabilitate his factory before he actually has a chance to manufacture war supplies. In any event there is sure to be a heavy, but indefinite, obsolescence factor, which must be added as one of the costs of production. The exact total obviously becomes guesswork; but, let us assume that X could know that it would be not more than \$1.60. This is a high cost, but prices of war materials have been soaring rapidly and they bid fair soon to reach \$1.75 in this line. X has about decided to make the plunge, when Congress begins to discuss the problem of high prices and to insist that they must come down. X decides that he had better wait for a time and see what happens. Eventually, after many precious months have elapsed, we work out a fair price based on the marginal cost in existing factories a price of \$1.26, to use the illustrative case given us. Do we need to inquire further whether X will decide to manufacture war supplies?

"It should be noted here that these same factors would apply, with only minor modifications, to new construction, as well as to rehabilitations.

"There has been some suggestions of late that the government, when controlling prices, must guarantee *minimum* prices for war materials in order that producers may know with certainty that their business will not be reduced to a losing basis. But this is really quite beside the point, for the *minum* assumes a *low* price. The advocate of the minimum price is not thinking of the marginal producer or this supra-marginal producer with a cost of \$1.60. He is thinking of the producers with low costs; the \$1.00 and \$1.10 man. He merely wishes to assure them that the price will not be reduced to 90 cents. Unless the minimum price were \$1.60 it would be only a barrier in the way of industrial mobilization. And if it were fixed as high as \$1.60, we would be inclined to call it, not a minimum price, but maximum, yes, a monopoly price, sanctioned by a government in league with profiteers.

"Let us take another case. Mr. Y is a professor of Latin. But in a previous incarnation he had been an expert in bean and potato culture. He obviously has no money, but he wishes very much to render some effective service in crushing the power of the Germans, once for all, for he has not forgotten that it was these same Teutonic barbarians who long ago destroyed with twentieth century ruthlessness the Latin civilization of the Western Roman Empire. Y has offered him a promising opportunity to grow potatoes and beans on a tract of 160 acres. Loath as he is to leave Latin dispensed with even in war time, he nevertheless recognizes that potatoes and beans are for the present even more important, and so he is inclined to accept the opportunity to return to the soil. In normal times this particular 160 acre tract is marginal potato and bean land, but with the present high prices Y figures that he could be reasonably sure, even with bad weather conditions, of coming through the season with a profit equivalent to his professional income. But the government decides that the prices of beans and potatoes must be brought down so that poor people may live, and so that farmers may not profit exorbitantly at the expense of the rest of society. The result is that Professor Y concludes that he cannot afford to take the risk, for he has a family to support. Latin's gain is civilization's loss in the most crucial period in our history, and price control is the responsible agency in the case.

"It will be apparent that the danger of price control that is revealed in these illustrations is inherently related to the process of mobilizing our industries for war, of directing the national energy into the most effective channels. In a preceding paragraph attention was called to the fact that in the present war, the United States is beginning very early the agitation for effective price regulation. Now it is just because of this early start that the gravest dangers of price control have arisen. The sort of price regulation that is being advocated works at direct cross purposes with the paramount requirements of the hour. We must have more ships, more munitions, more supplies, more food than can possibly be produced with the present alignment of industry. Wholesale reorganization of our

industrial life is imperative. But if prices are fixed so low as to offer no adequate inducement to business men to shift to the lines of enterprise that are indispensable for war, it inevitably follows that industrial reorganization will be tremendously retarded, that, to put it in its final terms, we will not secure the production of all the munitions and materials of war that are so imperatively necessary. The crux of our difficulty lies in the fact that in invoking price control in the interests of the government as a purchaser of war supplies and of the general public as purchasers of consumers goods, its advocates have utterly failed to recognize that it stands diametrically opposed to the shifting of industrial energy that is required. The argument assumes that it is only with existing producers of war supplies that we need be concerned. It is contended that we must not allow such individuals and corporations as chance to be fortunately placed in the industrial system to profit unduly from the war situation. We all sympathize with this idea, as a matter of course, but we must look beyond, if we are to avoid the most serious consequences, to the effect of price regulation upon the rapid and effective mobilization of our industrial resources.

"Is there, now, any means whereby we may extricate ourselves from the dilemma? Must we forego price control for the present year in order that industrial mobilization may be effected in the shortest possible time? Must we, if we choose to control prices in the interests of the many, incur the dire penalty of retarded mobilization, of possible defeat? Is there no happy medium, no middle course that will avoid the shoals in either direction?

"There appear to be three main alternatives before us. The first is to let prices adjust themselves at what level they may, under the working of unrestricted economic forces, and then to employ taxation of excess profits as the corrective. The necessary inducement would thus be left open for an increase of production in war lines. The price would adjust itself to the highest cost of production necessary to secure the requisite supply—plus a usual profit—and the extra profits of all those with costs less than this would be appropriated

by the government. This method of adjusting the difficulty is inadequate, however, for the reason that it does not alleviate the distress of the masses, resulting from the high cost of living; and it therefore does not serve to strengthen the morale of the people and to develop a united and wholehearted support of the government in the prosecution of the war.

"The second alternative is to fix *nominal* prices, and have the government underwrite the losses of any concern which cannot then produce at a profit. Under this system the prices fixed would doubtless be at approximately the level at which they stood before the war, that is, they would be customary prices. This method would obviously still require the use of excess profits taxation for such establishments as have costs below the normal, but it would possess the great merit of keeping down the cost of living for the lower classes. It is possible that so far as our problem relates to existing munitions factories, etc., this method might be employed with a fair degree of success. I say 'fair' degree of success, for it must be remembered that the problems involved in ascertaining costs and reasonable profits are baffling problems in themselves, as is also the enforcement of the price fixed. However, in time I believe we might succeed in working out a system that would be much superior to a condition of no regulation whatever, for after all existing establishments may be in some degree reached by the appeal of patriotism, and in any event, aside from evasion of the law, they have no practical alternative other than to accept the price that is fixed and to trust the government to make good any losses that may ultimately be shown. They cannot well go out of business; their best chance is to place their trust in the word of the government.

"But when it comes to inducing additional capital to engage in the production of war supplies this method is found to have very serious shortcomings. It must be observed that the method is a voluntary one. If a manufacturer does not wish to turn to the production of price controlled war supplies he does not need to do so. He has usually a profitable alternative, that of continuing to devote

his plant to the production of supplies that are not adapted to war uses, but which yet enter into general consumption. It should be observed here that what the government must promise, is to cover all costs incident to the transition into the war business; the losses due to high cost of operation while engaged in the manufacture of war supplies, and finally the losses incident to the transition back to peace time industry in the period of reconstruction at the close of the war. Now, there may be a few who would volunteer under these circumstances; but the general tendency in any event would be to delay as long as possible, to delay perchance too long to be of any assistance in the prosecution of the war. If the dire need of the government for supplies were fully appreciated in advance, the difficulty here would doubtless be greatly minimized; but the plain, blunt truth is that we have as yet simply no conception of the enormous quantities of war material that will be demanded in the coming months. The prevalent assumption is that production in all lines, not only will continue, but ought to continue, about as usual. Current discussion is practically all in terms of the present distribution of our industrial energy. For instance, the recent statement of the President on the subject of price control, was not addressed to business men who might be contemplating shifting into war enterprises; it was directed rather to existing producers of iron and steel and other war supplies, and it was thus generally interpreted throughout the country.

"But even if the government should definitely call for industrial volunteers, and promise all who should respond that normal business profits would be guaranteed them, does it follow that the requisite industrial reorganization would promptly ensue? It must be granted certainly that it would succeed no better than the volunteer system of raising troops; in fact, I believe it would be much less efficacious than the raising of volunteer armies. In the first place, the psychology of the situation is unfavorable to industrial volunteering. The industrial manager who turns to the manufacture of war supplies does not become an employee of the government, with a chance of winning shoulder straps and an iron

cross together with the undying gratitude of his fellow citizens. He is more likely to be regarded as a 'profiteer.' Again, a volunteer for the army merely has to enlist at a recruiting office, beyond that he has no personal responsibility, his daily activities are controlled to the army organization. But an industrial manager who volunteers his establishment for war purposes does not enter directly into the governmental organization, and the responsibility of reorganizing and managing the business remains as before. In the very nature of things, the process of industrial shifting cannot be co-ordinated under a volunteer system. At best it is a haphazard, time consuming, utterly inefficient method of industrial reorganization.

"The third alternative is to fix nominal prices and underwrite the losses of those who cannot cover costs at the prices established, as in the previous method, but then resort to the method of conscription* to secure the requisite productive energy in war lines. Such a method alone, it seems to me, will ensure industrial reorganization at minimum cost, with minimum uncertainty and, most important of all, in minimum time. Industrial conscription appears to be an imperative prerequisite to price regulation, when such regulation is undertaken early in the war, before the mobilization of our industries has been accomplished.

"To attempt to keep prices low and then at the same time to rely upon high prices as the inducement to industrial mobilization is obviously a flat contradiction and can result only in preventing the rapid reorganization of our industries. To substitute the method of government guaranty of reasonable profits, while relying upon volunteers is better, yet wholly inadequate to meet the pressing requirements of the hour. To substitute for the volunteer system, the method of industrial conscription is simply to parallel in industrial mobilization the certainty and celerity that has been attained in military mobilization through the machinery of the selective draft."

*See article on *Industrial Conscription*, by Prof. Moulton, in *Financial Mobilization for War*. On sale at City Club, 50c. Price to members, 25c.

THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM

The scientific aspects of the alcohol problem were discussed before the City Club on August 3rd. The movement for the enactment of national prohibition legislation gave special point to the discussion of the subject at this time. The speakers were Dr. Hugh McQuigan, of the Northwestern Medical School, Dr. Hugh Patrick and Professor A. J. Carlson of the University of Chicago.

Alcohol, the speakers agreed, is not stimulating, but depressing in its effects from the very beginning of its use. The apparent stimulation is really due to a dulling of the inhibitory faculties. Alcohol acts according to the "law of dissolution," that is, the finer and more lately acquired faculties are the first to be impaired. Its effect is like that of taking off successive layers of the brain. First, attention, perception, etc., are impaired, next, sensation, and later motor faculties.

"Civilization," Dr. Patrick said, in summing up his conclusions on the subject, "is the product of the inherent life forces, directed by ideals, guided by reason and controlled by inhibition. Alcohol impairs the life forces, degrades ideals, disorganizes reason and paralyzes inhibition.

"Efficiency depends on a considerable activity of the higher mental processes—attention, observation, reflection, judgment, and in some sorts of efficiency, a prompt mental or physical reaction. Alcohol does not stimulate these qualities, although a moderate amount does frequently result in increased vivacity and gives a fine feeling of warmth and well being. A study of the effects of alcohol on the nervous system, however, shows that it is depressing rather than stimulating. It slackens speed, but just because the higher sensibilities are deadened the man who partakes has the pleasant idea that he does things better and more quickly. He may talk a blue streak, but not half so well as he thinks when he is sober.

"Deterioration from the use of alcohol is progressive. The more frequently and the longer it is taken, the

worse are its effects and the end is zero in mentality. The first step toward this is the taking of the first dose. Seldom does a man become a drunkard deliberately. He starts with the intention of taking one or two drinks, but his inhibition and self-control are weakened and he drinks more and more.

"The man who can drink large quantities of alcohol with little noticeable effect is generally in more danger than the man who gets drunk, for he is not restrained by his inability to consume and is more likely to be visited with the illnesses and other serious remote effects due to the use of alcohol."

Dr. McQuigan denied the claim that alcohol is an effective appetizer in sickness. It depresses as often as it stimulates, he said. There is no real evidence of the therapeutic value of alcohol in such cases.

Alcohol was classed as a disease producing drug by Prof. A. J. Carlson. It is not only the cause of many ailments, but reduces resistance to disease. The user of alcohol is ordinarily hit much harder by illness than a man who does not drink. Alcohol also facilitates the progress of diseases that go with vice and crime.

The City Club Library

Open Week Days, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
(Saturday, 9 A. M. to 12 M.)

A Reference Library on Civics

for the Free Use of

Members and Committees

of the

City Club

4th Floor of the

Club House

Ruth G. Nichols, Librarian.

CLUB NOTES

Mr. W. B. Moulton and Mr. S. Bowles King represented the City Club at a citizens' meeting at the Union League Club, at which the National Army parade of August 4th was organized.

The ambulance donated by the generosity of members of the City Club is now in active service in France. Mr. Gale Willard, a member of the club, to whom we requested the City Club car be assigned, was successful in passing examination for entry to the Aviation School and is in training for the LaFayette Escadrille.

Just before the First Officers' Training Camp at Ft. Sheridan completed its work, the directors of the City Club sent, through Colonel Nicholson, an invitation to the newly commissioned officers and to the officers of his staff to make use of the facilities of the club.

Norman L. McLeod, a member of the City Club, is in Y. M. C. A. work at Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.

Dr. J. B. Herrick is serving as the physician member of the draft board in District No. 1.

Dr. William A. Pusey is chairman of the Surgeon-General's Committee on the Control of Venereal Diseases.

The committees of War Time Conditions and on National Defense of the City Club have been consolidated under the name "War Time Committee."

Prof. Williard E. Hotchkiss, head of the department of political economy of the Northwestern University and dean of its School of Commerce, has been appointed Director of Business Education and Professor of Economics in the University of Minnesota. Prof. Hotchkiss was chairman of the City Club's War-time Committee.

An interesting picture of trench life was given to members of the City Club in an address on July 30th by Lieutenant Charles Dolphin, 24th Canadian Battalion and member of the Royal Flying Corps. Lieutenant Dolphin was in the fighting on the Marne, on the Aisne and at Ypres. He was wounded in the battle of St. Eloi. Lieutenant T. L. O. Williams, 28th Canadian Battalion, was present at the meeting for a brief time but could not speak except to excuse himself on account of pain from wounds which he had suffered.

Lieutenant Dolphin's address was illustrated by pictures of scenes in the trenches which has been occupied by the Canadian troops to which he belonged, and in the devastated, water-soaked countryside over which the fighting is taking place.



The City Club Bulletin

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PUBLISHED BY THE

CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court

Telephone: Harrison 8278

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Reduced Prices to City Club Members!

FINANCIAL MOBILIZATION FOR WAR.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT A JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE WESTERN ECONOMIC SOCIETY AND THE CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, JUNE 21 AND 22, 1917.

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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

VOLUME X

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1917

NUMBER 12

NOTICE

After this issue the City Club Bulletin will be a weekly. It will reach you every Tuesday morning.

Postal card notices of the Club meetings will be discontinued and notices will appear *only* in the City Club Bulletin.

Hereafter Thursday will be "Club Day" and a meeting will be arranged for that day regularly every week. Special meetings will also be arranged from time to time.

Watch the Bulletin Regularly

CALENDAR

Saturday, November 3, at Luncheon:

"A DEMOCRACY AT WAR"—RALPH A. HAYES,
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO NEWTON D. BAKER.

Mr. Hayes' address will afford an unusual opportunity of learning what the War Department has accomplished. It will be illustrated with motion pictures.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Wednesday, November 7, at Luncheon:

"CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF BELGIUM"—
REV. JOHN DEVILLE, OF THE BELGIAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Father deVille has been for three years in Belgium as a representative of the Belgian-American Alliance, engaged in bringing Belgian dependents to relatives in America. He is interested now in aiding, through a Holland committee, the distribution of milk to Belgian children.

Everett L. Millard will preside.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Monday, November 12, at Luncheon:

"WOMEN IN THE WAR ZONE"—MRS. HAROLD R. PEAT, OF LONDON.

Mrs. Peat has been "at the front" and has had exceptional facilities for observing the work of women in the war zone.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Ladies' Night, Monday, November 12—Joint Meeting Woman's City Club, Vocational Supervision League and City Club of Chicago.

"CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY IN WARTIME"—
OWEN R. LOVEJOY, GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

TWO-MINUTE TALKS BY:

Mrs. William B. Hefferan, Schools Committee, Woman City Club.

Mrs. Herman W. Winslow, Education Department, Chicago Woman's Club.

Mrs. Addison W. Moore, Scholarship Committee, Vocational Supervision League.

Miss Jessie F. Binford, Committee on Children in Industry, Council of National Defense.

Mrs. Sophia S. Lamb, Farm Employment Bureau, Chicago Daily News.

Mr. Gordon A. Ramsay, American Agricultural Cadets.

Mr. Edward J. Tobin, County Work, School Home Projects.

Mr. John D. Shoop, Chicago Public Schools.

Miss Anne S. Davis, Operation of the New Child Labor Law.

Mr. James Mullenbach, The Child—The End of Civilization.

Mr. George H. Mead, The Vocational Supervision Movement.

Dinner at 6:00, \$1.00. Speaking promptly at 7:00.

Those wishing dinner will please make reservations at the City Club in advance.

AT FULLERTON HALL.

Wednesday, November 7, at 8:00 P. M.

CONCERT OF POPULAR "CHAMBER MUSIC" BY THE SHOSTOK STRING QUARTET.

Tickets at the door, 20c.

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NEWS NOTES

THE club regrets to record the deaths of the following of its members: M. E. Baird, on August 3rd; J. W. Paul, on August 6th; J. C. F. Merrill, on August 31st; Henry E. Legler, on September 14.

THE following persons have recently joined the club:

W. S. Agar, Treasurer and Manager, Agar Provision & Packing Company.
James A. Civis, Factory Superintendent, Kirsch Manufacturing Co. (Drapery Hanging Specialties), Sturgis, Michigan.
John A. Dienger, Patent Attorney.
Herman L. Akern, Lawyer.
Harry M. Fisher, Judge Municipal Court.
Ford Jones, President Chester Box Co.
Floyd A. Laird, Warren Webster & Co.
John H. S. Lee, Lawyer.
Arthur F. Planck, J. V. Farwell Co.
Charles A. Stebbins, Aeolian Co.
Allen M. Weary, Architect and Artist.

THE second series of popular "chamber music" recitals by the Shostoc Quartet was inaugurated at Fullerton Hall last Wednesday evening, October 24. Eighteen or twenty recitals will be given, one every week until the end of the series. As formerly, it is the intention to keep the price of admission low, and it has been fixed for this season at 20 cents. The concerts are under the auspices of the City Club Committee on Music Extension.

The announcement of the new series, referring to the concerts of last year, said: "The experiment proved to be a marked

success in every way, and the committee was encouraged to undertake a longer series of such recitals during the coming season. * * * The policy remains the same—to give no composition which is not in itself melodious, interesting, beautiful or characteristic and significant in a musical sense. French and Russian music will be a special feature of the programs this season, but every other nation and musical school will be represented.

"The low price of admission will make it impossible, even with a large attendance, to pay expenses and net a modest compensation to the artists. Friends of chamber music, or of the movement to popularize and democratize chamber music, will therefore again be appealed to for contributions, large or small, towards the support of the projected series. Anyone who is in sympathy with this movement is cordially invited to put himself or herself into communication with the City Club Committee on Music Extension."

The next concert will be given at Fullerton Hall on Wednesday evening, October 31st. It will include a quartet by Gretchaninow, trio by Godard, songs with quartet by Chausson and quartet for violin, viola and two cellos by Arensky. This will be the first performance of the last named composition in America.

THE Jubilee Singers, from Fisk University, on October 4th, gave a concert of old negro plantation and camp meeting melodies. It was ladies' night and a good audience was present. This is the second occasion within the year on which the Fisk Jubilee Singers have appeared before the club, and the second concert was enjoyed quite as thoroughly as the first.

A DISPATCH from Paris indicates that France is taking immediate steps to re-furnish homes that have been destroyed in the territories of northern France recently re-occupied by the French armies. The report states that bids have been asked for the manufacture of 20,000 wooden bed frames, of 10,000 school desks with seats and of 100,000 cement sinks with auxilliary parts. Further bids will be invited later.

TWELVE judges of the Superior Court and two of the Circuit Court will be chosen at the judicial elections for Cook County to be held Tuesday, November 6th. The election takes place under the law enacted by the legislature at its last session substituting party convention nominations for a judicial primary. Under an arrangement between the Republican and Democratic parties, only six candidates for the Superior bench and one for the Circuit bench have been nominated by each party, although there are twice that number to elect. There is, therefore, no contest between these parties in the election. Independent and Socialist candidates for the offices have also been nominated.

The candidates are as follows:

For the Superior Court (12 to elect).

Republican: W. H. McSurely, Hugo Pam, Charles M. Foell, Albert C. Barnes, Marcus Kavanaugh, Oscar Hebel.

Democrats: M. L. McKinley, D. E. Sullivan, Joseph H. Fitch, Joseph B. David, Henry Guerin, Jacob H. Hopkins.

Independent: Abraham D. Gash, George R. Walker, Will B. Moak, John D. Farrell, Mark D. Goodman, William Reeda, Thomas E. Swanson, Dillard B. Baker, George McMahon, Edgar C. Blum, William Friedman.

Socialists: Seymour Stedman, Otto Christensen, Carl Strover, Leopold Saltiel, John M. Work, Christian Meier, Samuel Block, Swan Johnson, Samuel H. Holland, Casimer Guis, Daniel Uretz.

For the Circuit Court (2 to elect).

Republicans: Anton T. Zeman.

Democrat: Frank Johnston, Jr.

Independent: Harry W. Standidge, A. J. Bedard.

Socialist: William A. Cunnea, Louis J. Delson.

Besides the vote upon the candidates, there will be a vote upon several propositions. Four of these are for bond issues, aggregating \$6,000,000, proposed by the County Board. They are as follows:

1. \$3,000,000 for a new county jail.
2. \$1,000,000 for the building of a branch county hospital at State and 95th streets.
3. \$1,000,000 for the building of a pathological laboratory in connection with the County Hospital.
4. \$1,000,000 for good roads construction.

A committee of citizens is opposing the jail bonds. Their report is published in part on the next page of this Bulletin.

The three first named bonds are also opposed by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency in a special report. The

bureau, however, recommends the adoption of the "good roads" bonds.

Two amendments to the Municipal Court Act passed by the last legislature are also to be submitted for adoption, one relating to practice and procedure in the service of summons, the other to the practice in relation to bail and particularly the extent to which judgments, orders or decrees should be a lien upon real estate.

THE City Club of Los Angeles has just issued a report by its Committee on Municipal Ownership, advocating municipalization of all public utility service undertakings in that city, including street railways and water, gas and electrical supplies. The committee claims that the complete ownership and operation of such undertakings by the city would result not only in better service through the elimination of duplicated property and service, but in a lowering of cost of service equivalent to nearly 30% of the present cost under private ownership. This saving, the committee asserts, should amount to more than the entire direct tax levy of the city at the present time. The chairman of the committee is Charles K. Mohler, a non-resident member of the City Club of Chicago, and formerly a resident. A report by Mr. Mohler on Passenger Subway and Elevated Railroad Development in Chicago was published by the club in 1912.

J. L. Jacobs & Co. have installed a new budget system for the Sanitary District of Chicago. The new system differs from the ordinary "segregated budget" plan in that it does not provide for an appropriation for each detailed object of expenditure but for summaries based on comprehensive data furnished by department heads. Mr. Jacobs' report upon his plan says that this system will permit the framing of the budget along scientific lines, but without cramping administrative action to the detriment of responsible and efficient government.

THE War Time Committee has arranged for a series of war maps to be installed in the club house, on which will be shown the positions of the armies on the various European fronts.

THE Public Ownership League of America will hold a conference at Chicago from November 25th to 27th. The object of the league is stated to be "for the public ownership, efficient management and democratic control of public utilities and natural resources." The program states that the conference will probably concentrate its energies upon certain specific problems and immediate measures that are already before the country and in some cases at least have reached the stage of actual proposals in Congress. Some of the subjects specifically mentioned for discussion are the public ownership of railways and mines,

as proposed by the Federal Trade Commission, and the postalization of telegraph and telephone systems. A long list of speakers has been arranged for, including Charles Zueblin, Charles Edward Russell, Florence Kelley, Louis F. Post, Jeanette Rankin, Glifford Pinchot, Delos F. Wilcox, Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, and William English Walling.

THE House Committee announces plate lunch service can now be obtained in the grill room as well as in the main dining room. The grill room is open to members every evening.

COOK COUNTY JAIL BOND ISSUE

NEXT Tuesday, November 6th, at the judicial election, a proposal will be submitted to the voters of the county for a bond issue of \$3,000,000 for a new county jail. Similar propositions have been twice before defeated at the polls.

The proposed bond issue was recently considered by a conference on the treatment of delinquents in Chicago, called by the Committee on Local and State Charities of the City Club. Among others, representatives of the following organizations participated:

- Chicago Woman's Club.
- Central Howard Association.
- Woman's City Club.
- Central Council of Social Agencies.
- Juvenile Protective Association.
- Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.
- City Club of Chicago.

The conference agreed unanimously that the proposal for a bond issue should be defeated. Its reasons are indicated in the following extracts from a statement addressed to the voters of Cook County by a special committee of the conference:

"1. The proposal, supported by detailed plans recently drawn by the County Architect, does not represent a fundamental effort to solve the jail problem of Chicago and Cook County.

"The defeat of similar propositions at two recent elections in the last three years is demonstration of public realization of this fact. The situation now is essentially the same as it has been on these former occasions. Special prob-

lems are left without proper handling, in particular the problems of women and boys, and of incarcerating convicted criminals elsewhere. The County Board has been petitioned since the defeat of the similar issue in 1916 to appoint a commission representing authorities on this subject to draw up a plan which would incorporate the best modern ideas. The board has failed to appoint such consultants.

"2. As a matter of economy the jail should not be erected until building costs are more stable. Material prices are abnormally high and uncertain. No business is building or extending its plant except for war purposes. Under these conditions it is the duty of the people of Cook County to refuse to put up a new jail and criminal court building at an expense of three million dollars.

"This conference agrees heartily that Cook County needs a new jail. But the only satisfactory procedure in getting it will be for the County Board to appoint, *long in advance of the vote on the requisite bond issue*, an expert commission, so that their conclusions on essential features may be presented to people at the time they are asked to authorize the bonds. Toward the adoption of such a plan of procedure, this conference pledges its active interest and support."

The report is signed by William T. Cross, Chairman, Edith Abbott, Jessie E. Binford, F. Emory Lyon and James Mullenbach.

LEGISLATION TO PREVENT PUBLIC UTILITY STRIKES

Address by DELOS F. WILCOX of New York, September 21, 1917

THE threatened railroad strike last year brought home forcibly to the public the fact that such a strike would be a national calamity, second only to war. About the same time, the street railway strike in New York brought to public attention the necessity of continuous service in the operation of public utilities. A movement was accordingly started in New York to secure legislation to bring this about. The public utility commission, of which Hon. Oscar S. Straus was chairman, evolved a plan to provide for fair and reasonable wages and working conditions, and to prevent interruption of the service on street railroads. Another plan was worked out by the Merchants' Association of New York, embodied in a bill and introduced in the legislature during the 1917 session.

"It is, perhaps, a somewhat trite remark to say that there are three parties concerned in every matter affecting public utilities: First, the consuming public; second, the investors of capital; third, the men who render the service. In the early days the government considered itself as the representative of the consuming public only, and endeavored to protect the consumer in matters affecting rates and service. The public utility owner was, theoretically at least, without any representation in the government, and the same was true of the employee. The fundamental difficulty was the failure to distinguish the public as representing the whole people, whose only interest is that necessary social functions shall be performed, and that justice shall be done, from the narrower 'public' representing the consumers. As a consumer of utility service, the public in this narrower sense, like any other buyer of goods, is interested in getting as much as it can for as small a price as possible. On the other hand, the general public, of which the government is the organ, is as much interested in the security and reasonable profitableness of the investment, and in the welfare of the employees as it is in the cheapness of the service to the con-

sumers. It was in line with this idea that, in the development of state regulation of public utilities, the functions of government expanded to protect the interests of the investing public, as well as those of the consuming public. The investor was to be entitled to a fair profit, and the consumer to fair rates and adequate service.

"But, as yet, the functions of government have not been expanded to the point where the interests of the employees are also taken care of. Conditions of employment are still regulated by private contract. In most municipal franchises and public utility laws there is no provision authorizing governmental agencies to interfere between the companies and the men in matters affecting wages and hours. The question before the public is whether the city will now become responsible for the protection of the employees, as it has for the protection of the consumers and the investors.

"With the growth of urban communities, public utilities have become almost as necessary as the air we breathe. We cannot permit the cessation of public utility services. But, so long as the employees are private hirelings, making private contracts with the companies, so long as their interests are not protected by the public, they will and must pursue methods used in other industries to secure better conditions. If it is the general social need that these necessary public services proceed without interruption, we must find a way, by law, to guarantee continuity of operation. Interruption of them must be regarded as incipient treason to the public welfare. I do not, in stating this, intend to reflect upon the present methods of public utility employees, because under present conditions the men *must* proceed as they do in other industries to improve their conditions. If interruption of service is to be prevented, the public must assume responsibility for their welfare. As yet our public utility regulation is incomplete, because it does not recognize this fundamental obligation. Public utility commissions should have the same right

to establish wages and hours of labor as they have under our present laws to prescribe rates and service.

"I want to discuss briefly the features of the two plans proposed respectively by the New York Public Service Commission for the First District and the Merchants' Association of New York.

"In the first place, the former plan would impose an affirmative obligation upon the street railway companies to provide fair payment and fair working conditions for their employees. Next, it would require them to provide the employees necessary for continuous service. Third, disputes between the companies and their employees would be settled by voluntary mutual agreement, by appeal to a wage board, or, if the wage board could not agree, by appeal to the Public Service Commission. Fourth, organizations of employees would be recognized, but in order to represent its members before the board, each such organization would be required to file with the Commission copies of its constitution and by-laws, a list of its officers, a statement showing the number of its members, and finally, a written agreement to abide by the decision of the wage board of the commission. The wage board would contain equal representation of employers and employees. Finally, it is provided that a conspiracy to interrupt the service by strike or lockout, pending the decision of the wage board or Public Utility Commission, would be a misdemeanor. It would not be unlawful to strike after the award had been made, but any organization conducting a strike thereafter would lose its right to represent its members before the commission.

"In public hearings, held by the Public Service Commission, representatives of the workers asserted that they would never agree to such a plan for the reason that the time required for investigation would give the employers opportunity to prepare for a strike and that any attempt to strike, if the settlement was unsatisfactory to the men, would for that reason, fail. The employers also were for the most part skeptical, apparently preferring to proceed in the old way. The Consumers' League took practically the same position as the employees and pointed out that compulsion had not

proved a success where it had been tried.

"The Merchants' Association plan, which applied not only to street railways, but to all public utilities, was on the theory that every company should make individual wage contracts with its employees, under the terms of which both the power of the corporation to discharge the employee and the employee's freedom to withdraw from the service are, during the period of the contract, definitely limited, severance of relations to be only in accordance with methods stipulated in this contract.

"Violation of these provisions is declared to be a misdemeanor. I want to say a word about the general principle of compulsion as applying to the settlement of wage disputes in public utilities. We now go on the principle of compulsion as to rates and service. If wages are to be increased under a plan of public regulation, the consumer must pay the bill. That means that we will have to get away from the fixed five-cent fare. It is preposterous that the fare adopted years ago for the old horse cars should be considered a sacred thing to be observed in the small city and the great metropolis alike. If the five cent fare is to be considered a fixed thing, we may have to provide for municipal subsidies to make up the difference. Where, as in Chicago, the city participates in the profits, a rapid increase in wages and the betterment of service will eventually cut down the profits to the city, perhaps thereby preventing the realization of ultimate municipal ownership through the city's profits.

"It seems to me that if we take the step, which I think is inevitable, of fixing the wages and hours of men in public utility service, we are taking a long step towards municipalization. We are putting the men on much the same basis as that of civil service employees and there must be a somewhat similar control over them. It may be that the employees will go into politics to secure the appointment of a commission which will deal fairly with them. In fact, I do not see why they should not have the same right to do this as the investor and the consumer have. Events seem to be drawing us closer and closer to governmental

regulation of the conditions of employment and will probably bring us to the point where we have assumed all the vital functions of the public utility cor-

poration. When that time comes we can simply eliminate the intermediary corporation and establish municipal ownership as a real fact."

STATE REGULATION AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Address by DELOS F. WILCOX of New York, Monday October 8, 1917

"WHAT are the fundamental purposes of state regulation of public utilities? As I can see them, they are two:

"First: To see that wherever public utilities have been established under governmental authority they shall subserve public safety, welfare, comfort, and convenience by rendering adequate service at reasonable rates.

"Second: To see that the property devoted to public utility service is permitted to earn a fair rate of profit, and is protected from unfair competition, from unreasonable local or legislative requirements, and as far as possible from mismanagement by those in immediate control of the business.

"State regulation is *theoretically* neutral as between public and private ownership, but *in fact* the state is generally more favorable to private than to public ownership and operation. Indeed, state regulation through public service commissions has been established largely as a policy designed to prevent the municipalization of public utilities by doing away with the necessity for it. In this sense, therefore, state regulation may be regarded as fundamentally hostile to municipal ownership; although what practical effect it may have in particular states and cities depends very largely upon the details of the regulatory and other public utility laws, and upon the personal characteristics and views of the commissioners.

"There are certain definite ways in which state regulation may incidentally affect the working out of the problem of private vs. municipal ownership:

"First: The state public utility commissions often exercise control over the terms and conditions of franchises granted by the local authorities. This control may be direct, in cases where local franchise grants require commission approval; or indirect, where the

state commission has power to disregard or override the conditions contained in the local grants. Where the character of all franchises is fixed by state legislation the effect upon the movement for municipal ownership may be very great. The indeterminate franchise now prevailing in Wisconsin and Indiana tends, in one way, to militate against municipal ownership, because there is no definite time or times when the corporation must come in for a new grant upon new terms and conditions. On the other hand, the provision that a city may at any time take over a public utility plant at a price to be fixed by the commission may prove favorable to the extension of municipal ownership.

"Second: State commissions often have power to control competition, even to the extent of preventing a city from building a plant of its own unless it acquires the plant of an existing private company. This control, if exercised, tends to close one of the avenues to municipal ownership.

"Third: The power of the state commission to fix a price for the purchase of public utility properties by municipalities may either help or hinder municipal ownership. If the commission adopts a policy of high valuations of utility properties, municipal ownership may be made impossible. On the other hand, if the valuations are conservative, state control may have the effect of protecting the cities from exorbitant prices. The effect upon municipal ownership depends entirely upon the policy adopted by the particular commission.

"Fourth: Public utility commissions may also influence the development and success of municipal ownership through the supervision which they sometimes have over municipal plants. A commission might, for example, increase the rates in order to make a municipal plant fully self-sustaining and thus prevent

the city from reaping some of the desired advantages of municipal operation. On the other hand, the commission may require better accounting methods, and thus help to make municipal operation honest, intelligent and efficient.

"Fifth: The commission may also exert its influence through its control over interurban and suburban public utility services. One of the chief difficulties in the way of establishing municipal ownership is the fact that the economic and operating unit frequently is not identical with the city's corporate boundaries, but transcends them.

"Let me turn now from these general considerations to the situation on the Pacific Coast. It is probably true that the policy of municipal ownership is better established there, particularly in California and Washington, than elsewhere in the United States. Nearly twenty years ago, when the San Francisco charter was adopted, the city's policy was declared to be municipal ownership of all public utilities. Provision was made whereby the issue was to be brought up definitely for decision as often as once in two years until the utilities were fully municipalized. San Francisco has been slow in realizing its declared policy, but, nevertheless, has made considerable progress in that direction. It does not as yet have its own water plant, but plans are now under way which will unquestionably in time bring about municipal ownership. San Francisco's most significant step in the fulfilment of its charter declaration is in the field of street railways. Several years ago the city decided to buy the Geary street line as a nucleus. It has since acquired and constructed additional lines, until now it has a large system with gross earnings of about two million dollars a year. The city's success has been so conspicuous that the United Railroads now desire to sell out to the city, and a general plan for the acquisition by the city of all the street railway lines not now owned by it has been proposed within the last few weeks. The board of supervisors has declared itself in favor of the purchase, and definite negotiations to that end are under way.

"Los Angeles has undertaken a great enterprise in the development of its mu-

nicipal water plant, which involves the sale of water for domestic and irrigation purposes to large areas outside of the city limits. The city also plans to develop a very large amount of electric current for lighting and power purposes. It has recently entered into contracts with two of the private companies for the ultimate acquisition of their distributing systems within the city limits.

"California has taken a step which, so far as I know, has not been taken by any other state. It has authorized communities to get together and form public utility districts for the acquisition and operation of public utilities where they overlap the boundaries of the individual municipalities.

"Seattle has the largest municipal light plant in the country. It owns its water supply. It has also had some experience in municipal ownership of street railways. Seattle's venture in municipal ownership of street railways has not been so profitable as that of San Francisco, for the reason that the municipal lines are located in outlying districts of the city and have no outlet downtown. There are, furthermore, two distinct divisions which have no operating connection with each other. San Francisco adopted the wiser plan of taking over as a nucleus one of the best-paying lines in the city, and the city is, therefore, making money, while Seattle is operating at a loss. Seattle is now endeavoring to connect its two divisions. In the meantime, municipal ownership on the basis of Seattle's experience has been advertised as a failure, because these separated fractional lines are being operated at a loss.

"Tacoma has a municipal water and lighting plant and also owns a street railway line, but this serves an industrial community and is operated under contract by the company.

"The State of Washington has a very interesting law for the financing of municipal utilities. It provides that public utility bonds may be issued with the earnings of the utility as their security. If there is any deficit, it is in operating expenses and must come out of the taxes, as the bond interest is a first lien on the gross revenues. The operation of this law has proved very satisfactory from the standpoint of the security of

the investment. As a consequence there has been very little trouble in the financing of municipal ventures. This plan also has the effect of calling the attention of the tax-paying public from time to time to the efficiency or inefficiency of operation.

“How has state regulation affected the development of municipal ownership in California? The state commission has no power to regulate municipally-owned utilities. It has no authority to prevent a municipality from duplicating an existing privately owned plant. It does have authority, however, over public utility contracts entered into by a city, and power over the valuation of utilities for municipal purchase. Thus, in fact, the state commission has considerable power over the development of municipal ownership. The present commission is controlled by men who are apparently in sympathy with the extension of this policy. The power of a state commission to fix values is a very important one. It is proper that there should be a body, expert in valuations, to which both parties can go. The procedure by which values are fixed by the commission has the advantage of definiteness. Usually one of the chief difficulties in the way of a change from private to public ownership is the indefiniteness of the method by which the change may be accomplished. The utilities are frequently so tied up financially with a series of bond issues and stock ownerships that the men in charge are not in a position, even if they wanted to, to accept on their own responsibility a fair offer from the city. If, however, the commission exercises the power over values, these men are not in the same position of responsibility toward the investors, and are bound to accept a fair price. And surely it is much better to have the price fixed by a commission skilled in valuation work than it would be to have it fixed by the bungling and expensive process of condemnation in a court.

“The constitution of the State of Washington provides that every city of 20,000 population shall have the right to frame its own charter, subject to the constitution and the laws of the state. Seattle has its own charter, which makes certain provisions with reference to pub-

lic utility franchises. Contracts with public utility companies have been made under the provisions of this charter, but the state legislature has passed general laws for the incorporation and regulation of public utility companies, and these laws, under the Washington court decisions, make the Seattle charter, so far as its provisions affecting public utilities are concerned, not worth the paper it is written on. The Washington public service commission law gives the commission power to determine whether public utility rates are sufficient, not simply whether they are too high, and the commission has power to set aside rates established in local contracts between the cities and the companies. The result is that in Washington the situation is very different from what it is in California. There is no provision by which the purchase of public utilities by municipalities must be approved by the state commission, but the commission can interfere indirectly with a purchase contract. It can change anything. It has authority to pass regulations which supersede those of the local contract, and so there is no certainty that any plan adopted by a city in negotiation with a public service corporation will be permitted to work.

“I recognize the necessity of state regulation of public utilities in certain matters. In certain other matters, however, state regulation hinders the municipality, kills local initiative and prevents cities from improving the service. Because of the remoteness of the state commission from the scene of operations, it must in the end be less efficient than local regulation with respect to *service*. I think that pending the realization of the policy of municipal ownership, which I strongly favor, we must work out a plan of co-operation of both state and local authorities in the regulation and control of public utilities. Those who now favor unlimited control by the city and those who favor unlimited control by the state are both wrong. They need to get together on a program that is not a compromise, but a logical adaptation of available political machinery to this important function of government. In my opinion the city ought to have control of the service, so that the people for whom the service is rendered can deter-

mine what sort of service they want, but, on the other hand, the city and its citizens will have to pay the cost of what they demand. For that reason I do not see how the local authorities can properly claim ultimate control of rates, as this would give them the power to bankrupt the companies by squeezing them between the upper and the nether millstones. The rates may be adjusted by some automatic device established by contract, or the power to revise them from time to time may be given to the state commission after hearing both parties. It may be said that in any case the companies would have an appeal to the courts from an unreasonable exercise of the rate-fixing power by the local authorities. In my opinion, however, state commissions are necessary for the regulation of utilities that would otherwise go unregulated, and, being established and equipped with all the necessary experience and machinery for rate-fixing, they should be used in the review

of rates fixed by the local authorities before an appeal is taken to the courts."

Mr. Wilcox's address was followed by a prolonged discussion, during which the adequacy of the indeterminate franchise for public utilities received particular attention. On this point Mr. Wilcox said:

"I do not believe that we can generalize as to the indeterminate franchise. If it is a straight franchise, with no limitation to make it financially and practically possible for the city to purchase, the grant will in effect be a perpetual franchise. If, on the other hand, the franchise is bound up with an amortization scheme which effectively reduces from year to year the purchase price to be paid by the city, it is a very different proposition, and I have no objection to it. I regard the short-term franchise, without any provision for the disposition of the property at its expiration, as indefensible."

Referring to the maintenance of labor standards in war time President Wilson, in a recent address to the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, said:

I have been very much alarmed at one or two things that have happened—at the apparent inclination of the legislatures of one or two of our states to set aside even temporarily the laws which have safeguarded the standards of labor and of life. I think nothing would be more deplorable than that. We are trying to fight in a cause which means the lifting of the standards of life, and we can fight in that cause best by voluntary co-operation. I do not doubt that any body of men representing labor in this country, speaking for their fellows, will be willing to make any sacrifice that is necessary in order to carry this contest to a successful issue, and in that confidence I feel that it would be inexcusable if we deprived men and women of such a spirit of any of the existing safeguards of law. Therefore I shall exercise my influence, so far as it goes, to see that that does not happen, and that the sacrifices we make shall be made voluntarily and not under the compulsion which mistakenly is interpreted to mean a lowering of the standards which we have sought through so many generations to bring to their present level.

"The time is rapidly coming when a system of commercialized medicine will be found as inexcusable as was commercialized education at the time when it barred out the larger part of the community from receiving the benefits of learning. As society has recognized the dangers of illiteracy and billions of dollars are spent on a system of free education, society will ultimately take the next step, which, through a curious inversion of social phenomena, has been delayed, that of socializing medicine. Compulsory health insurance will force every community to face this vital issue, but communities can begin now working out the social machinery that will be needed for the administration of the health insurance. And it is just this machinery that the health center will provide. Such a center will create among the citizens of the local community a responsibility for the community health based on self-respecting and self-supporting co-operation."—*The Community Center*, Feb. 24, 1917.

HOW PROHIBITION WORKS IN FOUR DRY STATES

Address by DR. WILLIAM J. JOHNSON, of the Presbyterian Board
of Temperance and the Dry Chicago Federation,
Tuesday, September 25, 1917

"I MADE a trip through the West last July, to study the results of prohibition, chiefly in Omaha, Denver, Portland and Seattle. It was not my purpose to make out a case for or against prohibition, but to learn actual facts.

"The law went into effect in Colorado, Oregon and Washington on January 1, 1916; in Nebraska, May 1, 1917. At the time of my visit, Omaha had been dry only two and one-half months, and the other cities a year and a half.

"In Omaha I had an interview with Mayor James C. Dahlman, who was one of the wettest wets during the campaign. He said: 'Arguments so generally used by anti-prohibitionists are shot to pieces so far as our city is concerned, as they have not materialized.'

CRIME AND VAGRANCY.

"Immediately after the prohibition law went into effect, there was a noticeable decrease in crime. The number of prisoners in the county jail used to average from 150 to 250; now the average is about 50. The average number in the Denver county jail was about 400, now it is 75. Denver has abolished its city rock-pile for vagrants. In Portland, the city jail is empty of prisoners and used for an emergency hospital.

"In Omaha, on July 3, 1916, with saloons, there were 111 arrests for drunkenness; on July 3, 1917, without saloons, there were only 16 arrests. In Denver, the first 'dry' year, the number of arrests for drunkenness decreased 60% and for vagrancy, 70%. In Portland, the total number of arrests for drunkenness and vagrancy the last year of saloons, was 10,166; the first year without saloons, there were only 2,790. In Seattle the total arrests decreased the first year from one-half to one-third. The cost of maintenance of the city jail in Denver decreased 26% the first year; the county jail, 27%. In Seattle the cost was reduced one-half to one-third.

"In Colorado the population of the state penitentiary has been reduced to one-third, and the institution is releasing

twice as many men as it is receiving. There are twenty county jails in Colorado without a single inmate.

"The population of the state penitentiary of Washington is about one-third of what it was with saloons. The same is true of the county jails. The state reformatory for boys at Monroe, received only about one-half as many in the first year of prohibition as it did in a year with saloons. In Oregon only about one-half as many prisoners were committed to the state penitentiary during the year of prohibition.

"Seattle formerly had a 'stockade' for lazy husbands. It used to be full, but after prohibition came the number of prisoners got so low that the county commissioners closed it up and the three or four who were left were put in jail and the usual wages paid to their wives.

"Mayor Gill, of Seattle, said that when they had saloons, there came to the notice of the police about twelve to fourteen cases a day of drunken men beating up their wives. Now there are scarcely any.

BUSINESS.

"In all of the cities visited there was an immediate increase in business when the prohibition law went into effect. The largest increase was in the sale of groceries, meats, women's and children's clothing, and especially children's shoes.

"In Denver, the wholesale merchants reported an immediate jump of twenty, thirty and forty per cent in business orders in little towns throughout the state. Retail merchants reported an increase of ten to forty-five per cent. The secretary of the Retail Credit Men's Association reported that collections generally are 50% better under prohibition.

"One large firm in Seattle opened three new shoe stores within ten months after the 'dry' law went into effect. They report that 50% more children's shoes are sold than formerly.

"In Omaha a large restaurant made a specialty of ten cent meals, but these have been knocked out and men now

order meals costing fifty or sixty cents and upward. The manager also operated a big rooming house, making a specialty of fifteen cent beds. These have also been knocked out. Men demand better beds and rooms and are willing to pay a higher price.

"In Portland, under license, there were three institutions which made a specialty of five cent meals and cheap beds. Within three months after the prohibition law went into effect, all went out of business. Three free employment bureaus caring for unemployed and helpless men have, under prohibition, ceased to be.

"The gas and electric company in Denver worked hard against prohibition. They figured that the closing of saloons would mean the loss of at least \$15,000 a month to them in the sales of gas and electric current. In the first 'dry' month their sales increased \$10,000. They explain it by the fact that men who formerly spent their evenings in saloons, now remain at home with their families, and lights are burning in a hundred homes where formerly they burned only in one saloon. New business also has come into these old saloon buildings, and many of them use large amounts of gas and electricity. For instance, in one place a saloon was paying \$16.00 a month for gas and electricity. The building is now occupied by a restaurant which pays \$78.00 a month.

"In Denver the deposits in the savings banks increased 26% during the first nine months of prohibition. Nearly 20,000 new savings accounts were opened during the first year. The bank deposits increased 16%, over twenty-nine million dollars.

"In Portland the first 'dry' year the bank clearings increased ninety-five millions of dollars. The savings deposits in the state increased four millions and the time deposits three millions.

"In Seattle, within one year, bank clearings increased 29% or one hundred seventy-seven millions of dollars. The bank deposits increased 20% or eighteen millions of dollars and there was a tremendous increase in savings bank deposits throughout the state.

"The tourist business in these states the first 'dry' year increased 60% and

the leading hotels reported a larger patronage than in any previous normal year.

REAL ESTATE.

"In Omaha nearly all the buildings vacated by saloons were occupied by legitimate business within sixty days, with rents as good or better, than before.

"When the 'dry' law went into effect in Denver, there were 242 vacant store buildings in the main section of the city; 463 saloons went out of business, making a total of 705 vacant store buildings. The best locations were snapped up immediately and today there are only 53 vacant store buildings in the main part of Denver. There are fewer vacant buildings than at any time within the last ten years. The office buildings are filled up to 95% or 100% of their capacity. There are few, if any, vacant residences. Every real estate firm has a waiting list of prospective tenants for residence property. The records for the moving and transfer companies show that for one family moving away four families move in.

"In Portland, 75% of the buildings vacated by saloons were snapped up within thirty days.

"The building permits in Denver the first 'dry' year were nearly double those of the previous wet year. In Portland the building permits for nine months of the last 'wet' year amounted to nearly \$267,000. For the same period during the first 'dry' year they amounted to nearly \$1,223,000. The real estate transfers during that year increased 55%.

"Mortgages during the first 'dry' year in Denver were paid off at an unparalleled rate. More taxes were paid during the first six months under prohibition than during the whole previous year.

"It is interesting to note some of the uses to which saloon property has been put. In Denver I noted that what was once a notorious saloon is now a shoe store with a sign in large letters, '*Buy Shoes Where You Used to Buy Booze.*' In Seattle the most popular saloon has become a tea room for the ladies. One saloon keeper in the same city turned his place into a savings bank, and men who used to come to buy beer now come to deposit their money in his bank.

"Breweries are also easily converted into other business. At Golden, Colo., Coor's brewery, one of the largest in the state, is used partly for the manufacture of malted milk, and partly for making fine porcelain from clay found nearby. In Portland one brewery has been converted into a tannery, one into a furniture factory and one into a shoe factory. In Seattle the largest brewery in the state is now producing a fine grade of table syrup from cracked rice, and is making denatured alcohol as a by-product. One in Spokane is manufacturing vinegar, one in Aberdeen, Washington, is canning clams. Nearly all of the breweries have been changed into useful and profitable industries.

LABOR.

"There has been no hardship from prohibition on account of unemployment. Bartenders, drivers, brewery workers, etc., have found immediate employment at good wages in legitimate industries.

"Colorado reports the greatest scarcity of labor in the history of the state, notwithstanding an increase of 26,000 in the population during the first 'dry' year. All the 'dry' states report an increase in population and a shortage in labor.

"Employers report a great increase in the efficiency of labor. This applies not only to manual labor, but to labor in offices, stores, etc. The president of the largest milling company in Seattle reports that the efficiency of his force has increased 50% since the state has been 'dry.' A member of the largest timber firm in Oregon says that the same is true of their force. It has also reduced the number of accidents.

"A large firm of contractors were building two lines of railroad; one from Spokane to Portland, the other to Bend, Oregon; 3,500 men were employed on one job and 2,500 on the other. The law requires that accident insurance be provided by employers. These contractors carried their own liability insurance. They kept a careful record of all accidents. When the men were working in 'dry' units where liquor could not be obtained, one-tenth of one per cent of the pay-roll took care of the accidents. When they were working in 'wet' units two and one-half per cent of the pay-roll was required, twenty-five times as

much as when they were working in 'dry' territory. These contractors formerly worked against prohibition, but their actual experience has made them warm advocates of the 'dry' law.

"Formerly, in Seattle, six or eight men a day came to the Mayor's office for jobs, because they were down and out. Under eighteen months of prohibition in Seattle, only two men have applied to the Mayor for jobs. Formerly four or five women a day would come to his office, saying their husbands had turned in no money for three or four months. Since prohibition not one woman has come to his office with such a complaint.

TAXES.

"In Denver there has been no change in taxes under prohibition. In Portland the gross taxes were actually less the first 'dry' year. In Seattle the tax rate was less the first year, but increased the second year because of large street improvements in West Seattle. The net increase, however, was only 60/100 of a mill. The smallness of the increase is accounted for partly by the decrease in crime, pauperism and wasted money occasioned by open dram shops. In Seattle the police force has been reduced by forty, and Mayor Gill said they did not need even their present number of policemen, except in case of emergency.

"The coroner in Portland reports there are only one-half as many suicides as formerly. The district attorney reports one-half as many murders. The chief of the fire department says there are less than one-half the fire alarms. He accounts for it by saying that men are not as careless with lighted matches, cigarettes and cigar stubs, as when the saloon was present. The worst fires have been in cheap rooming houses. Under prohibition there are very few fires of that class.

"Business has increased and pays more taxes. In place of many of the old saloon shacks, large business blocks have been erected, which pay more in taxes than the former saloon license money amounted to.

"Laboring men are building homes by the hundred. Last summer the realty holding company of one of the local national banks let a contract to build sixty-five houses in Denver, to be sold on a

ten and fifteen year contract plan with 6% interest on deferred payments. They say they are willing to trust the men for the payments now that they no longer spend money for booze. The home owning idea is the great thought in these prohibition states.

"In Colorado and Washington there was a permit system which allowed any person to have shipped in for his personal use a certain amount of liquor every month. I was told in the Mayor's office that nearly half as much was spent for liquor the first 'dry' year as the previous year with saloons. This was emphatically denied, however, by the chief of police. From another, and very authentic source, I learned that while

under license Denver spent over seven million dollars a year for liquor; under 'no license' the amount is less than one-half million.

"During my trip, I called upon bankers, lawyers, hotel men, managers of department stores, real estate men, and others promiscuously. Nine out of ten of the people whom I interviewed told me frankly they were formerly opposed to prohibition and voted against it. Without a single exception, all are now in favor of prohibition, and many leading men state that if the question should be again submitted to the people, 90% of the voters would vote to continue prohibition. Never again will the open saloon be found in any of these states."

LABOR ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO MIGRATION

THE negro migration northward, largely induced by the labor displacement on account of the war, has raised problems of the greatest social importance. The acuteness of some of these problems was dramatically evidenced in the circumstances of the East St. Louis riots. Following these riots, the Labor Committee of the Illinois State Council of Defense, John H. Walker, chairman, made an investigation and report which brought out some of the difficult features of the problem. The report says in part:

"The feeling against the colored people originated in two sources, social and labor. There was resentment that the colored people, having over-crowded their quarters, were spreading out into sections of the city regarded as exclusively the precincts of the white people. The colored men, large numbers of whom had been induced there and who could find no jobs, in their desperate need were preventing desired improvements being made by labor, and threatening the existing standards of labor, and the white men were resenting it. * *

"For more than two years, there has been a considerable migration North of the southern negro. There has been increased demand for labor in the North on account of the great numbers employed in plants devoted to war materials. This was accentuated by the return of some of the foreigners from

the North to their native lands to take their places in the war, and the complete stoppage of the former supply of labor from those countries.

"The negroes from the South furnish the most likely supply to meet this demand, because the South pays them lower wages, works them longer hours, gives them less consideration, and surrounds them with poorer working conditions. This movement, so far as it is a result of this condition, is a readjustment of the equilibrium of population in accordance with present economic law, and so far as this is true, no issue can be taken with it.

"But this committee finds that the situation at East St. Louis differs so much in degree from the situation in most other cities, that it could not be explained as a result of ordinary operations. That East St. Louis, accustomed as it is to the presence of colored people, could stage a racial outbreak, argues that a cause different than ordinary migration of colored labor was operative.

"Such a cause was definitely established by evidence. It was shown that extensive advertising had been done in southern newspapers, setting forth the allurements in East St. Louis in the way of abundant work, short hours, and high wages, good conditions and treatment. Labor agents also were shown to have been very active in the South. They had gone about soliciting the movement of

colored men to East St. Louis. They had invited colored men to assemble in groups of ten in order to get cheaper railroad rates. Excursions by train and by steamboat were offered cheaper for the round trip than the regular one way fare would amount to. That such things were being done was recited in the local press of East St. Louis continually for many weeks, and seemed never to be denied.

"A peculiarity of this campaign for the importation of unskilled labor to East St. Louis was its anonymous character, a fact in itself suspicious. There appeared in all newspapers over the country almost daily advertisements for labor in some other place, which are signed by those who want the employes. Such advertisements, of course, are legitimate. But it seems strange that the extensive territory of the South should be covered by a propaganda urging migration to East St. Louis, and at the same time that these advertisements should not only be signed by no one, but that they should not designate any particular plant, of which there are many large ones in East St. Louis, that required additional labor. Likewise, labor agents were equally mysterious. It was related that these labor agents would assemble car loads of negroes and start North accompanying them. At convenient points these agents would leave the car with the remark that they had telegrams to send, or would get a lunch. They never came back, and the train pulled out without them. The negroes were thus left to shift for them-

selves upon their arrival at East St. Louis, to find work as they could and quarters as they might."

"* * * The managers of all the larger industries of the city were examined, and all denied any collusion, or knowledge of the campaign conducted in the South to bring negroes to East St. Louis. The fact remains, however, that these managers were the chief beneficiaries of the surplus labor, and the force of motive points in their direction."

The committee urges the importance of avoiding local strife under present war conditions and says:

"To import a surplus of labor will promote strife rather than repress it. To so act is not to meet labor half way. Labor has declared a truce, to whatever extent such may be possible, and the employer will be the opposite of a patriot if he does not do the same."

The committee recommends (1) that there should be publicity for these conditions to the end that the migration of the southern negroes may be discouraged; 2) that **migration of population** should be along natural lines and that the severest condemnation should be visited upon those undertaking to promote any artificial movement; (3) that the problems of **shifting labor** during the war be handled by the various state councils of defense in conjunction with the Council of National Defense, the officials of the labor movement and of the various state and national labor departments.

WALTON J. WOOD, public defender of Los Angeles County, California, writes as follows in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*:

"Another unexpected result from the establishment of the office of public defender is the reduction of expense to the taxpayers. It was not considered that money would actually be saved. It was thought that the new office would, of course, add some expense, but that was considered only fair to the accused and to the attorneys who were called upon to devote their services to aid the court in arriving at the truth in the

trials of the cases. A careful calculation has been made of the time actually consumed in handling the cases conducted by the public defender and those conducted by attorneys in private practice during the same period. The figures show that the defendants tried by the public defender occupied an average of one day for each trial. Cases tried by attorneys in private practice occupied an average of 1.6 days for each trial. Pleas of guilty were entered in 70% of the cases handled by the public defender and on only 48.6% of the cases handled by attorneys in private practice."

FIRE AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION

Addresses by DR. E. L. LECOUNT and JAMES F. JOSEPH, October 9, 1917

THE 46th anniversary of the Chicago fire was celebrated as "Fire and Accident Day" in a meeting under the auspices of the Civic Committees on Fire Protection and on Accident Prevention. The speakers were Dr. E. R. LeCount, Coroner's Physician, and Mr. James F. Joseph, Secretary Chicago Advisory Committee, Department of National Service, National Board of Fire Underwriters.

Dr. LeCount discussed fire risks to children:

"During the ten years ending last December," he said, "the number of deaths in Cook County from burns and scalds was 1,723. In 1916 there were 236 such deaths and of these 102 or 42.2% were of children under five years of age. Besides the fatal burns there are many which are not fatal, but which cause untold suffering and frequently result in terrible deformities. A great many of these household tragedies are preventable, and could be avoided by a little care."

A large proportion of the accidents, Dr. LeCount said, occur among the poorer classes of the community, particularly among people of foreign nationalities. The only remedy, he asserted, is the dissemination of information and warnings among the people through exhibits, literature, lectures, etc.

Mr. Joseph spoke of the work which the National Board of Fire Underwriters is doing toward the conservation of food supply from fire. "The National Board of Fire Underwriters," he said, "representing 148 insurance organizations throughout the United States was the first commercial body to offer its services to the government. It rendered very important service to the War Department in furnishing through its engineering department lists of munition factories, cotton mills and other establishments, which it was necessary for the government to know about in carrying out its war program. Since Mr. Hoover came upon the scene, the board has been devoting a part of its effort to the work of food conservation. It

has been directing the inspection of food depositories for the purpose of removing hazards which would tend to start fires or which would allow them to spread if started. Inspectors are furnished by the insurance companies, but they go out as deputy fire marshals and are instructed to consider themselves not as representatives of their companies, but of the state. They are not allowed to solicit business. It is their duty to make inspection of storage places for grain, flour, wholesale groceries, coal, ore, lumber cotton, oil etc. They have had the co-operation of the owners of these storage places and have never yet had to call for an exercise of police authority by the state to secure the enforcement of their suggestions.

"Before the war it was in a large measure the proprietor's own business as to the steps which he would take for the protection of his property. Today, however, he stands in a new light as the custodian of public property, to help care for those things so necessary for the advancement of the nation's cause. Under such conditions, he has no right to determine for himself what he should do or should not do to take care of his property.

"Up till a few months ago in this country we burned on the average of one grain elevator every twenty-four hours. We were very happy and serene about it, although at the time people were starving in Europe. Today we realize our responsibility more strongly. It is estimated that the allies are short about 577 million bushels of wheat. The United States can furnish to them only about 208 million bushels. This means that there will be a deficiency of 369 million bushels. These figures themselves demonstrate the importance of conserving in every manner possible this food supply from destruction by fire. If the loss were merely financial, the situation would not be so bad, but these fire losses result in the loss of things absolutely necessary for the prosecution of the war."

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The City Club Bulletin

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VOLUME X

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1917

NUMBER 13

CALENDAR

AT THE CITY CLUB.

Wednesday, November 7, at Luncheon:

"Conditions of the People of Belgium"—Rev. John deVille, of the Belgian-American Alliance.

Father deVille has been for three years in Belgium as a representative of the Belgian-American Alliance, engaged in bringing Belgian dependents to relatives in America. He is interested now in aiding, through a Holland committee, the distribution of milk to Belgian children.

Everett L. Millard will preside.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Monday, November 12, at Luncheon:

"Women in the War Zone"—Mrs. Harold R. Peat, of London.

Mrs. Peat has been "at the front" and has had exceptional facilities for observing the work of women in the war zone.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Ladies' Night, Monday, November 12—Joint Meeting Woman's City

Club, Vocational Supervision League and City Club of Chicago.

"Children in Industry in Wartime"—Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

Two-minute talks on the same subject by eleven other speakers.

Those wishing dinner will please make reservations at the City Club in advance.

Dinner at 6:00, \$1.00. Speaking promptly at 7:00.

AT FULLERTON HALL.

Wednesday, November 7, at 8:00 P. M.

Concert of Popular "Chamber Music" by the Shostoc String Quartet.

Tickets at the door, 20c.

Tuesday, November 6, at 8:00 P. M.

Open Meeting of the Prairie Club—"The Rocky Mountain National Park." Shep Husted and Clement Yore.

Mr. Husted is the dean of the guides in the park and Mr. Yore is a resident there. The talks will be illustrated with natural color slides. Admission free.

AT THE HOTEL SHERMAN.

Wednesday to Saturday, November 14 to 17.

Conference on Compulsory Education—Seventh Annual Convention of the National League of Compulsory Education Officials.

Among the prominent speakers from outside of Chicago will be P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education; William Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, Gary; Judge Ben B. Lindsay, Denver; Owen Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

AT ORCHESTRA HALL.

Thursday, November 15, at 8:15 P. M.

Second Popular Concert by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

Admission 15c, 25c, 35c and 50c.

The City Club Bulletin

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NEWS NOTES

THE 25th National Conference on Good City Government, participated in by the National Municipal League, the City Managers' Association, the Civic Secretaries Committee, the Municipal Research Conference, the Training for Public Service Society and other organizations will be held at Detroit, November 19 to 23.

THE program for the second popular concert of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which will be held at Orchestra Hall, Thursday, November 15, at 8:15 p. m., will be as follows:

Overture to "Rienzi".....Wagner
Symphony No. 5, E Minor, "From the

New World," Opus 95.....Dvorák
Adagio—Allegro molto.

Largo.

Scherzi.

Allegro con fuoco.

Symphonic Poem, "The Moldau".Smetana
Berceuse from Suite "Jocelyn".....Godard
(Violoncello obligato by Mr.

Bruno Steindel.)

Valse Triste.....Sibelius

Polonaise from "Eugen Onegin".....

.....Tschaikowski

BESIDES Mr. Owen Lovejoy, who is the chief speaker for the joint meeting with the Woman's City Club and the Vocational Supervision League (see cover page), the following persons will speak for two minutes each on special angles of the subject.

Mrs. William B. Hefferan, Schools Committee, Woman City Club.

Mrs. Herman W. Winslow, Education Department, Chicago Woman's Club.

Mrs. Addison W. Moore, Scholarship Committee, Vocational Supervision League.

Miss Jessie F. Blinford, Committee on Children in Industry, Council of National Defense.

Mrs. Sophia S. Lamb, Farm Employment Bureau, Chicago Daily News.

Mr. Gordon A. Ramsay, American Agricultural Cadets.

Mr. Edward J. Tobin, County Work, School Home Projects.

Mr. John D. Shoop, Chicago Public Schools.

Miss Anne S. Davis, Operation of the New Child Labor Law.

Mr. James Mullenbach, The Child—The End of Civilization.

Mr. George H. Mead, The Vocational Supervision Movement.

THE UNITED CHARITIES describes the poverty situation in Chicago as follows: While there is lots of work, while every able-bodied man can get a job, nevertheless 2,300 families asked for help from the United Charities in September—an increase of 12 per cent over last year. There were no able-bodied men in these families. The County Agent has had to cut rations to poor families. Until its funds are replenished, in December, the Juvenile Court is not granting any pensions under the Funds to Parents Act.

And of course this poverty is paralleled by war prices in food.

LAST Tuesday night seventeen organizations of Chicago held a public memorial of the life and work of Henry E. Legler, late librarian of the Chicago Public Library. The speakers paid high tribute not only to Mr. Legler's personal qualities but to the important and unusual service which he rendered to Chicago by sending the books to the people.

The organizations under whose auspices the memorial was held were:

The Art Institute of Chicago,

The Brothers of the Book,

The Chicago Association of Commerce,

The Chicago Division, Illinois State Teachers' Association,

The Chicago Federation of Labor,

The Chicago Library Club,

The Chicago Literary Club,

The Chicago Woman's Club,

The Citizens' Association of Chicago,

The City Club of Chicago,

The Cliff Dwellers,

The Federation of Men Teachers,

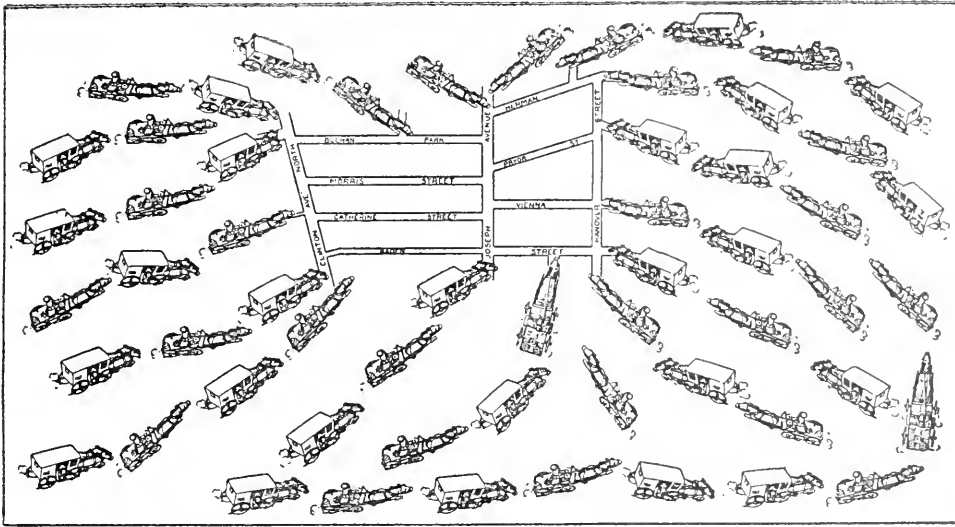
The Federation of Women High School Teachers,

The Illinois Woman's Press Association,

The Press Club of Chicago,

The West Chicago Park Commissioners,

The Woman's City Club.



MILK DELIVERIES IN A SECTION OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

In this small section of the city fifty-seven dealers delivered milk to 363 homes, travelling in the aggregate thirty miles. This service could have been rendered by one distributor travelling two miles.

THE MILK CRISIS IN CHICAGO

MUST Chicago pay war prices for milk? Can Chicago get milk at all? These disagreeable questions faced the City Council Committee on Health in a meeting last Thursday. Milk dealers announced that they had not been able to meet the milk prices demanded by the producers and that unless some adjustment could be made at once to meet the emergency the city would be without milk in a short time. The producers insist that unless a larger price is paid they cannot afford to continue the production of milk, not only because of the increased cost of fodder but because it would be more profitable to sell their cattle and convert their land to other uses than grazing. Civic agencies are aroused about the situation, for a permanent reduction in the milk supply or a heavy increase in the retail price, which would have substantially the same result, would not only be a hardship to the people of Chicago, it would be a positive menace to the health of child life in the city.

But while this is a situation which vitally concerns the city, the municipal authorities are not in a position to deal with it adequately. Even if the city's

power to deal with the problem locally were unquestioned, its jurisdiction does not extend over the producers located on farms outside the city. These deficiencies were pointed out to the committee by William B. Moulton, acting on behalf of the City Club War Time Committee, who urged that an appeal be made by the city to the State Council of Defense and the United States Food Administration to deal with this emergency situation. These authorities, Mr. Moulton asserted, would have power to compel an adjustment even to the extent of taking over the plants as a war measure. An appeal of this sort was decided upon and a subcommittee of the Council Health Committee met with the subcommittee from the City Club War Time Committee, the Health Commissioner and a representative of the Corporation Counsel's office and presented the situation to Mr. Samuel Insull, chairman of the State Council of Defense.

The subject was taken up by Harry A. Wheeler, representing the Food Administration. On Friday an adjustment was reached between the producers and the dealers, whereby milk will be de-

livered at a price which will allow it to be retailed at 12c a quart.

An element of great importance in the price of milk is the present inefficient system of delivery. Estimates have been made that the handling and delivering of milk represent considerably over 50 per cent of the total cost. Figures compiled by the Health Department indicate that the delivery cost of a quart of milk from the city plant to the consumer is 3¼c, not including depreciation on wagons and other overhead costs. Other estimates place the cost even higher. It is probable that a substantial reduction of this delivery cost could be effected if the competitive system of milk deliveries were done away with. The serving of a single apartment house by, by half a dozen milk companies, each with its own delivery wagon, is an obviously wasteful system. Estimates were presented to the Council Committee that prices could be reduced at least 2 cents a quart if a system of co-operative deliveries by which one delivery wagon would serve an entire district could be established.

The Chicago Health Department at an earlier meeting of the Council Committee suggested that such a system of distribution might be undertaken by a company licensed by the city, under its general police powers, and that competitive distributors could then be kept out of the market. The possibility of establishing a co-operative delivery service is complicated by the fact

that the drivers are salesmen and solicitors for the companies and the latter would be deprived of this means of competing for business. Mr. Ira Mix, testifying before the committee, said that while he saw the advantages of such a plan, he believed that it could be worked effectively only under a complete consolidation of the milk companies.

Probably the most thorough demonstration of the inefficiencies of competitive system of milk deliveries was made through an investigation in Rochester, N. Y. It was estimated that under a properly organized system of deliveries the work done by 356 men could be done by 90, that the number of horses could be reduced from 380 to 50 and the aggregate number of miles traveled from over 2,500 to about 300. Rochester has worked out a plan for such deliveries but it has not yet been put into operation.

The National Council of Defense recently issued instructions to all the State Councils to take up with retail merchants the question of co-operative deliveries. Mr. Moulton, of the City Club War Time Committee, in his statement above referred to, urged that the State Council of Defense be requested to give earnest consideration to this problem, particularly as affecting the delivery of milk. This suggestion has been presented to the State Council by the special joint committee above referred to.

THE reasons "why congress fails to function" are indicated by the National Voters' League at Washington, as follows:

"1. The national legislature is a political institution. It is a product of the end-in-itself political system. Its legislative attainments are directed primarily not to public business but to political results.

"2. The methods of elections and legislation tend inevitably away from national objects towards sectional and local objects. The single district scheme

of representation is responsible. Pork and the spoils of politics, reduced to the re-election needs of individual members, will always, under such a system, retard and complicate the conduct of big public business.

"3. The membership of Congress is far too large to be readily workable.

"4. The parliamentary machinery is basically inefficient and undemocratic.

"5. The bicameral system much more than doubles the difficulties that attend the wise and seasonable solution of public questions."

OUR CHANGING IDEALS OF PATRIOTISM

Address by PROF. PERCY H. BOYNTON, of the
University of Chicago, October 19, 1917

"IN the last eight or ten years we have been forced to redefine many of our old conceptions. It is hard, for instance, even in these days, to find two persons who have the same idea of 'democracy,' although the word is constantly invoked. In the field of political economy the conceptions of 'wealth' and 'labor' have had to be redefined. So it has also with our ideas of 'patriotism.'

"Patriotism has always been accepted as one of the cardinal virtues, but it has never been more than loosely defined. It is a word that is immensely complicated. It is stimulated always by a consciousness of our neighbors, but in this respect it has two aspects, one of a higher, the other of a lower order; one, self-defensive and emulous, expressing itself in arrogance and belligerency, the other altruistic and utopian.

"To the student of American literature it is interesting to watch the growing conception of patriotism against our five war-backgrounds, those of 1776, 1812, 1861, 1898 and the present.

"In the days of the Revolution, our conceptions of patriotism revolved around the maintenance of certain ideal conditions. There were two men whose writings, at that time, expressed ideas of patriotism that have played a great part in American history, but which today we are abandoning. The writings of Crèvecoeur, author of 'Letters from a Farmer,' are penetrated with the idea of a 'manifest destiny' for the nation.

"'Here,' for example, 'individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world.'

"The blind idealism expressed in this notion of 'manifest destiny' is one of the elements of American patriotism that today we are getting away from.

"The other of these ideas is the isolation of the country from the rest of the world. After the revolution, our separation from the world seemed so complete that we could afford to follow Washington's advice and refrain from foreign entanglements. Timothy Dwight

gave expression to this sentiment as follows:

"'See this glad world, remote from every foe,
From Europe's mischief and from Europe's woe.
The Atlantic's guardian tide repelling far,
The jealous terror and the vengeful war.'

"So American patriotism at the start was involved with these two ideas, the idea of a 'manifest destiny' for America and the idea of our splendid isolation from the rest of the world. But soon America's isolation began to break down. We became entangled abroad through the invasion of our rights on the seas by Great Britain. During the period from 1812 to 1825, our democracy was 'growing up.' The country was going through a mushroom period of development. We were in the 'seventeen' age, and very self-conscious and unhappy because we realized the truth of much of the criticism which came from across the Atlantic. America's consciousness of England's criticism made it, however, particularly loyal to itself.

"Following this period and up to 1860, democracy in America was working itself out along the lines of individual freedom, as expressed in the demand for the freeing of the slaves, and along the lines of a demand for undivided allegiance to the nation. The country was being differentiated. A high-brow and a low-brow America, which has lasted ever since, was growing up. High-brow America, represented by such men as James Russell Lowell, was still conscious of the super-refinement of our neighbors across the sea and of the crudity of our own nation. High-brow America contended for democracy as an ideal, but was solicitous for it as it existed in America. It was in this period, however, that Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the thesis of democracy, for which we still stand today.

"And then, as a third type, was 'low-brow' America, with Walt Whitman

sounding his 'barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world.' Yet, some of Whitman's poetry may be read as if it were written for today. These prophetic lines might have been intended for the boys at Camp Grant or Fort Sheridan:

Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson,
wearied, over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden,
and the lesson,
Pioneers, O Pioneers.

"In Whitman's lines there is still expressed a strong sense of the 'manifest destiny' of this country.

"After the Civil War and up till the nineties there seemed to be a lapse in our sense of patriotism. It wavered through the lack of stimulus. America seemed merely a place of residence. Occasionally people went grudgingly to the polls, but there was no sense of loyalty to the nation. I was in college in the nineties and can contrast the spirit then with that which exists today, a spirit expressed the other day by a boy of seventeen, who said to me, 'In these days Shakespeare seems frivolous.'

"This was the situation up till the 12th of February, 1898. With the blowing of a hole through the bottom of the Maine and the plunging of the country into war, millions of men in America acquired a new sense of patriotism. They learned what it was to thrill at the sight of the Stars and Stripes. It was in the Spanish War that America's sense of isolation from the world began really to go. In the last twenty years our idea of responsibility toward our neighbors in the family of nations has completely changed. We went into that war primarily to fight for a people who could not fight for themselves and later, following the punitive expedition of the powers against the Boxers, our state department, through John Hay, by a magnificent stroke of diplomacy, prevented the division of China by the European powers, by shaming them out of it.

"We come now to the present time. The idea of manifest isolation from the world is gone and we realize that if ours is a 'manifest destiny' it is one that we must achieve. We know that if we are to have a future we must work it out for ourselves.

"Since the beginning of the war we have gone through three distinct periods: a period of discomfort, next a period of doubt, and now the period of decision. The moment will indeed come when civilization will look with amazement at the time when we felt that the only way to settle our differences was by force. But we are concerned now mainly with the immediate task, the 'thing in hand.' The immediate appeal, too, must not be through hate, or fear, or panic, and I want to say, too, although perhaps I take risks in saying it, that it must not be through the indiscriminate abuse of every man who dreams of 'peace.' It is for 'peace' that we in common with the rest of the world are working in terms of fighting our enemies abroad. Let us, then, be done with this abuse which makes no distinction between friends and foes.

"The conception of 'business as usual' must be superseded by a recognition that business now is and must be 'unusual.' Even education must be readjusted in these war times. All departments of our universities have been drawn upon for men to serve the government in various ways. The investment of blood and energy is being made by the men who can make it, and an appeal is being made to men who are not fortunate enough to be able to aid their country in other ways, to help it through their pockets. The man who has made no investment in the war in fighting ability, in services or money has no right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

"After H. G. Wells visited the country a number of years ago and wrote his book on 'The Future of America,' he said that Americans had tremendous confidence in the future of the country, but always seemed embarrassed when asked what they expected to contribute towards its advancement. This is a challenge which we must meet. The success of the Liberty Loan will have a tremendous moral effect, not only because of the spiritual good which it will do Americans and because of encouragement it will give to our soldiers, but because of the assurance it gives the enemy that we are not paper Americans, but Americans of flesh and blood, and heart, and determined optimism."

EFFICIENCY AT HOME NECESSARY TO SUCCESS AT THE FRONT

Address by RICHARD HENRY DANA, President National
Civil Service Reform Association, October 18, 1917

“WE are in the midst of a great war. Some of your sons and brothers are in it already. What are we at home going to do to support them at the front?

“An American ‘statesman’ once said that it was easy to get an army, that we could raise a million men over night. Imagine an army raised in this way, cold, shivering, without proper shoes, without the necessary equipment and without trained officers, to meet a modern well officered and well equipped army. It is not enough to have the soldiers trained. We must have trained officers as well.

“But all this has its parallel on the civil side. We have had too much government in the past by well-trained, skilled subordinates, whose work was supervised by men without the necessary training and equipment. More has been lost in the administration of our government by ill direction of labor than by graft or theft.

“In the raising of an army, before clothing, ammunition and other equipment can be placed in the hands of the men, there must be the work of a large civil army. This involves the services of specialists of a high order—men, for instance, who know how to draw up specifications, skilled draftsmen, inspectors and many others. The government is short of such men.

“It will make a great difference in the length of the war if, when we send our army to the front, we are prepared to back them up promptly with vast quantities of supplies. What would we do if our army were sent to the front as badly equipped as the Russian army. There are men who believe that the war would have ended before now if Russia had had supplies in sufficient quantity.

“Even before the war the National Civil Service Reform Association felt the need of doing something to provide for the more expert service in government departments. It was felt that experts should be employed in all the high

branches of government for all positions not actually of a policy-determined character, that opportunities should be given them for professional advancement and permanent tenure of office. Efficiency engineers supervising departments are a part of our program.

“We saw the City of Chicago taking the lead in this through its civil service system, with results not excelled anywhere—not even in Germany. I am sorry to say that much of this good work has been emasculated, but you have lighted the lamp which the rest of our country will follow.

“Feeling these needs, we raised a fund for the employment of a publicity expert and an employment specialist and for the improvement of our facilities in other ways. With these men and this money, we were in a position, when the war broke out, to accept the invitation of the Advisory Council of the National Defense Council to help work out the employment problems connected with the war. We were able to do a great many things in Washington. For instance, we headed off many efforts to exempt positions from civil service on the ground of the emergencies of the war. In the Spanish War many positions were exempted from civil service, because it was said that the men were wanted in a hurry and that civil service methods would take too long. The result was that large numbers of appointments were made through congressmen. Congress, which should have been devoting itself to the problems of the war, was pestered continually with job hunters. A bill, for instance, was passed exempting 600 positions in the war department from civil service. It actually took three months by the congressional appointment method to employ these 600 men, and then, because of their inefficiency, twice as many men had to be tried out as were actually needed. It is probably true that some of the worst failures in the Spanish War—the bad sanitary arrangements, the poor food, the inferior munitions—

were due to the appointments made in this way.

"The other day the war department wanted 300 men in a hurry. It sent in a rush requisition to the Civil Service Commission and the next morning 150 men were waiting at the doors of the department for the jobs. The civil service system is working with such expedition that the sails of the old spoils ship are fast going below the horizon.

"The Civil Service Commission at Washington, has done splendid work. It has extensive lists of clerks and stenographers and lists, though less extensive, of draftsmen, sanitary engineers and other experts. It has been called on to supply five or six times as many men as during normal peace times, but it has been forced to get along with the old peace time appropriation. It was impossible to get an appropriation from congress in time, so by our efforts the President has been induced to grant a sufficient appropriation for the needs of the commission from his war emergency fund.

"The Civil Service Reform Association was asked, among other things, to help in the recruiting of men for service in the government departments. We started a publicity campaign with stories and advertisements in the newspapers, and even got directly in touch with the employers themselves and urged them to release their men for government service. The response was excellent and we have been able to help the commission and the ordnance department at their request along these lines, securing about 1,000 specialists.

"The Civil Service Commission has eliminated all the red tape possible. One of its stumbling blocks has always been

the congressional appointment rule, by which appointments by law are made in proportion to the population of the various states. However, the commission has been able to get around this requirement of the law through a clause which provides that this rule should be followed 'as far as good administration will permit.' The rule has accordingly been suspended, as an emergency measure, so it is now not necessary to send to the Pacific coast whenever a few clerks and stenographers are wanted.

"Another way in which red tape has been eliminated is the increased use of unassembled examinations for positions requiring the services of men of special talent and experience. Some of the examinations for positions, in which large numbers of men are needed, are repeated at quite frequent intervals—sometimes twice a week—and the names of successful candidates are turned over to the departments as rapidly as they can be certified.

"In the Council of National Defense there is a card list of nearly 4,000 people who have volunteered their services to the government. No way was found to investigate the qualifications of these people. We are urging that the Civil Service Commission take up the task. The personal history, qualifications, and particularly the loyalty of these volunteers can be gone into by the commission, and it can render valuable service to the Council of National Defense in this way.

"Efficiency at home is necessary for success at the front. No amount of bravery and self sacrifice will make our men victorious unless we, on the civil side, are victorious over spoils politics and inefficient service."



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For Sale.

The City Club Bulletin

A Journal of Active Citizenship

Published weekly by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Illinois

VOLUME X

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1917

NUMBER 14

COMING EVENTS

Enter These Dates On Your Calendar

AT THE CITY CLUB.

"Club Day," Thursday, November 15, at Luncheon.

"The War and the Making of Public Opinion."—Arthur E. Bestor, President Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York; Director Speakers' Division, Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Bestor is directing the speaking campaigns of the various governmental agencies in relation to the war. He was formerly of the Y. M. C. A. War Board Committee on Lectures and Entertainments in Training Camps and director of the Speakers' Department of the U. S. Food Administration.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Saturday, November 16, at Luncheon.

"Issues of the War."—Hon. T. P. O'Connor, Author, Journalist and Member British Parliament.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Thursday, November 22, at Luncheon.

"The Signal Service."—Col. Leonard D. Wildman, Department Signal Officer, Central Department, U. S. Army.

Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking promptly at 1:00.

Ladies' Night—November 30—Illustrated Travelogue.

"To the Shining Mountains and the Sunset Sea."—Gilbert McClurg, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Fuller announcement later.

AT THE HOTEL SHERMAN.

Wednesday to Saturday, November 14 to 17.

Conference on Compulsory Education—Seventh Annual Convention of the National League of Compulsory Education Officials.

AT ORCHESTRA HALL.

Thursday, November 15, at 8:15 P. M.

Second Popular Concert by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

Admission 15c, 25c, 35c and 50c.

The City Club Bulletin

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CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

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THE LISTENING POST

AN interesting series of war maps showing the positions of the armies on the various fronts has been placed in the second floor corridor.

THE Club "Roll of Honor," a bulletin board attractively designed by Messrs. Pond & Pond, has been installed in the lobby. On it are posted the names of members who are in active military or naval service.

HAROLD H. ROCKWELL, Treasurer of the City Club for the past eight years, has resigned, and Roy C. Osgood, who has been Secretary, has been appointed his successor. Mr. Rockwell's resignation is brought about by an increase in his duties at the Northern Trust Company. His resignation was accepted with sincere regret.

Charles Yeomans has been appointed Secretary to succeed Mr. Osgood.

GEORGE E. COLE has, because of his long and honorable career of service in the community, been elected by the directors as an honorary member. Mr. Cole was the first president of the Municipal Voters League and served at the head of that organization for three years. He was active in the fight against the passage of the notorious Humphrey and Allen bills before the state legis-

lature. He was also the first president of the Legislative Voters League and served for four years as president of the Citizens Association. He has been one of the most vigorous promoters of the plan for a constitutional convention for Illinois. Although a veteran of the Civil War, Mr. Cole is still in active service as vice-president of the Citizens Association and in other ways. He has taken part in various activities at the City Club since its organization.

PRI-MARY and election days as holidays for public offices, banks, etc., are cited by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency in a report just issued, as an instance of governmental waste and absurdity. "The practice," says the Bureau, "is wasteful of tax-payers' money. It is a needless inconvenience and expense to business. It is demoralizing politically, in that it operates to place at the disposal of party leaders in control of public offices the services of political workers paid by the public." * * *

"The original purpose back of the idea of treating election days as holidays was sinister, inasmuch as there was no intention of making such days holidays for all. The prime aim was to release for political work the groups of employees paid by the public. Insofar as the progress of the civil service system has operated to frustrate that purpose, it should be easier to bring about the abolition of the practice of treating primary days and election days as holidays for public employees. The spirit of the civil service system calls for such a move."

Six days in 1916, according to the Bureau, were observed by public offices and banks in Chicago on account of primaries and elections. These holidays affected about 4,200 employees of the City of Chicago, Cook County, and the Sanitary District. Their approximate salaries for those days were \$136,500, or an average for each such holiday of \$23,000.

The Bureau recommends that the various governing bodies keep their offices open in the future on primary and election days and that the general assembly be asked, at its next session, to repeal the provision of the statute designating such days as legal holidays.

THE CONDITION OF THE BELGIAN PEOPLE

Address by the REV. JOHN B. DEVILLE, Representing the
Belgian Childrens' Milk Fund, November 7, 1917

FROM across the troubled seas I bring you a message laden with sorrow from a nation which has drunk long from the chalice of misery, that has bled that other nations might live. I had lived for three years in Belgium when the news came that at last Columbia had taken up the sword. The people trembled when they heard that news, and when the Stars and Stripes were taken down from the American buildings, they feared that now the bread which America had sent to them would be taken away.

"America," to Belgium is a magic word. When it is uttered the faces of the people light up with love and gratitude, for they feel that it is the food from our fertile fields and the gold from our coffers which has saved them from utter starvation, and now that America is shedding the blood of her stalwart sons for the cause of Belgium and humanity, that word means more to them than ever before.

The Isolation of Belgium

For three years I labored in Belgium and saw the country ascend her Calvary step by step. I was sent there at the beginning of the war to bring Belgian women and children to relatives in America. But when I arrived I soon found that there was also other work to be done. One of the saddest things which the Belgians had to suffer is never to know the fate of their beloved ones, of those who have fled before the army of the invader and crossed the border into other lands, or of those who had been left behind. So I began to carry messages back and forth, and you cannot imagine the joy of those at home or abroad receiving these messages. Very often the tidings were bitter, perhaps the word was that the father or mother was dead, or, most terrible of all, that the fiancée had become an unwilling mother.

Even before our declaration of war it was very difficult for an American to get into Belgium. Now, of course, it is

impossible. Once across the frontier, the newcomer would be seized with a feeling of isolation. He could not use the telephone, telegraph or mails, nor even buy a railroad ticket without permission.

The Dutch frontier is shut off by a belt of barbed wire, charged with a high voltage electric current. Many Belgians die every day trying to cross that line. It is a common thing for the young men of Belgium, when they arrive at military age, to try to escape to Holland and then to join the Belgian army, and many of them are caught in these wire entanglements and killed. One night two young men of my acquaintance left me at the hotel and several months later, in Holland, I learned that their bodies had been taken out from these wires, burned to a crisp.

Land and People Devastated

In order to appreciate fully the conditions prevailing in Belgium one must have been in there in the days of her prosperity. Belgium had been one of the richest countries of the world. Her beautiful countryside has been devastated and there is no longer the happy song of the peasant or the smile of the maiden. The peasant, perhaps, is thinking of his son who is fighting for his country with the Belgian army. The maiden has lost the bloom of her youth, and on her cheeks, perhaps, show the ravages of tuberculosis. Tuberculosis and malnutrition are evident everywhere. Men and women become prematurely old and die. At every turn of the street you can see a funeral procession on its way to the cemetery.

And everywhere long lines of people wait for hours, in all kinds of weather, to receive a bowl of soup and a handful of rice to keep them alive. It is not only the laboring man whom we see in this bread line, but patricians, artists, and men of wealth. At the beginning of the war conditions were not so bad, because the Belgians were a thrifty people and had savings upon which they

could live, but now, at least two-thirds of them are depending, in part, upon the charity of the world to keep them alive. Misery is universal.

Travel in Belgium was greatly restricted. On the rare occasions, when I have been permitted to travel, I have sometimes been the only civilian on the train. For two years no civilian has been allowed to travel from Flanders to any other part of Belgium. People must get permission to leave the town, sometimes even to go beyond its limits, and then only in case of serious illness of friends or relatives. It may take weeks for an investigation and word may even come that the visit is no longer necessary as the person whom it was desired to visit is dead.

The Belgians Enslaved

Everywhere there are signs of pillage and devastation, and of towns punished for their resistance to the invader; but in spite of this, in spite of the robbing of the country of all its resources—copper, coal, the products of the soil—the greatest crime and injustice perpetrated upon the Belgian people has been the deportations. In the province of Namur, all the men of the town of Gembloux and of the neighboring villages, between the ages of 17 and 55, were required to report to the authorities at a given day and hour. On the day before, in one of these little villages, in the square in front of the church was a crowd of people. Old mothers were there saying good-bye and weeping over their sons, there were wives clasping their husbands in their arms. The cure of the church passed among them, trying to give consolation. Then the crowd broke up into little groups and the men started for Gembloux, walking all through the night, as there was no other means of getting there, and all the night there was fresh weeping by the women.

"At seven o'clock they arrived and were placed in a roped off square—men of all conditions, farmers, laboring men, professional men, and even people of large means. They were given a superficial examination by a surgeon. If the surgeon ordered "Rechts," it meant that the man was declared physically sound and was sent into the building at the

right; if he ordered "Links," the man was declared physically unfit and allowed to go. Very often you could hear the cry of women as the men disappeared from sight. The Bishop of Namur, standing nearby and seeing a German officer, just returned from the front, and being no longer able to contain himself, said: "Doesn't this remind you of the slave markets of Africa?" The officer replied, "I have been at the front, and when you have been at the front pity is no longer possible."

—But Defiant

Then the whistle of the engine was heard, and the watching crowd broke away and rushed to the depot. There were heart rendering cries of grief that seemed to symbolize the infinite suffering of a race plunged from prosperity into the deepest darkness. But louder than the noise of the engine or the lamentations of those who were left behind were the shouts of the victims as they were hurried away. "Vive la Belgique!" they cried. They seemed to be thinking, not of those whom they were leaving behind, but only of the bleeding Fatherland.

And what happened to them when they were sent to the mines and factories of Germany and even to the trenches? Perhaps in a few days a message would come back, "For God's sake if you want me to live, send food." And those who were left behind would give such help as they could, even to the last morsel of food.

At times you feel that you are on the edge of a volcano and that it might be very easy to start a revolution.

Cardinal Mercier is, today, perhaps, the greatest factor in sustaining the people of Belgium. An agency which is also doing much to keep the spirit of Belgium alive is *La Libre Belgique*, a paper, which, in spite of all attempts at repression, in spite of the snares of spies, has appeared regularly from the first of February, 1915, to the present day. The first copy of this paper is sent invariably to the governor general of Brussels. In every line the paper makes fun of the German occupation and tells the people to be patient, that the day of reparation will come.

Belgium has deserved your admira-

tion and your help. Probably the greatest of all the suffering is that which the little children have had to undergo. You can see them, perhaps, waiting for hours to get a glass of milk; they are mere specters, worn down to skin and bone. The appeal for these helpless ones comes from two of Belgium's greatest figures—Queen Elizabeth, the pathetic

queen, who cries from her exile, "Save my children;" and Cardinal Mercier the brave and lonely churchman, utters the same cry. What you do for these children will be done as a propitiatory deed for those gallant men in khaki, your brothers and friends, who, somewhere in France, are fighting the battle for humanity and liberty.

THE CURRENT REVOLUTION IN PRISON THEORY AND PRACTICE

Address by **GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY** of New York, formerly
Dean of Columbia Law School and Warden of Sing
Sing Prison, October 30, 1917

WE are, in this generation, for the first time reaching the point where the nature of crime is becoming scientifically known. There are agencies at work in this problem, both in this country and abroad, agencies such as the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology or such as the psychiatrists who are studying the mental foundations upon which criminal habits and careers are founded. But even those who do not possess the latest scientific knowledge can see that the older methods have failed to protect society against the inroads of crime.

For two-thirds of a year I was warden of Sing Sing Prison, succeeding Mr. Osborne, and it was my opportunity to observe the methods in use there. Until then I had never realized my ignorance of the problem. I had known something about the old system which prevailed before Mr. Osborne became the warden—the serious breaches of discipline, amounting sometimes to general outbreaks, the hostility between the authorities and the inmates and also, for a brief period, the license which prevailed when all restrictions were thrown off and the inmates were allowed to have 'a good time.'

I found, however, that since Mr. Osborne had taken charge of the prison, this old condition of affairs no longer existed. There was no longer any problem of discipline, there was no fear of a riot. The keepers no longer carried guns; the chief keeper told me they had no use for them. Later, at their own request, they were allowed to lay aside

even their sticks. During the rest of my term there were no armed keepers except the guards on the outer walls, mostly veterans of the Civil War who were, apparently, employed as much for their own benefit as for the guarding of the prisoners. There were weeks, one period as long as seven weeks, when there was no occasion to hold a warden's court for the hearing of cases involving serious breaches of discipline. There were periods of weeks when even the inmate's court, which considers petty infractions of discipline, was not held.

Of course, this does not signify that the men were reformed or that it would have been safe to let them out.

It indicates, not that there was any change of heart on the part of the prisoners, but only that it was possible without either iron discipline or 'coddling' to secure good order and behavior among the prisoners.

"I made some startling discoveries while at Sing Sing. One was that the prison swarmed with lunatics and imbeciles, people who belonged in insane asylums or homes for the defective.

We made an industrial survey of the prison and found that 80% of the men had never done an honest day's work. They were not only wholly untrained, but even had no habits of industry. Is it a wonder, therefore, that prison industries are conducted at a loss or that standards of work are so low that the training received in prison is of no use outside?

And yet, the men are, on the whole, a willing lot. They want to be helpful and

they respond in a pathetic degree to human recognition. They seem to have a kind of hunger for self-respect and a respect for the decent opinion of men. The effort should be made to develop in the criminal a sense of self-respect, a desire for the respect of others and a sense of responsibility to them. It was to develop these traits that Warden Osborne organized the Mutual Welfare League.

Self Government in Sing Sing

The sensational features of this plan, the features which excited the most discussion were really the least important. There was a sergeant of arms, for instance, elected by the men, an Irishman who might have made a good chief of police if he had not been in jail. The inmates who were selected to assist in maintaining discipline among the prisoners generally tried to work by moral suasion to prevent infractions of discipline rather than punish them. They were 'social workers' of a sort among the inmates.

Then there was a court made up of inmates, which heard cases affecting the discipline of the institution. All of the members were men who had great ex-

perience with criminal law outside the jail.

A feature not so widely discussed, but perhaps even more vitally important, was our system of vocational training. Twenty classes were organized and there were so many applications that we could not take all of the men who applied. In these classes men were trained in different trades. Telegraphers whom we trained, to cite a single instance, found jobs awaiting them with one of the telegraph companies as soon as they left the prison.

We tried, as I have indicated, to give the inmates a responsible and democratic share in the administration of the prison. We did this without 'mushiness' or 'sloppy' sentimentality. I have never known a body of men who would resent softness in discipline so much as the men at Sing Sing. They would despise a sentimentalist more than they would hate a man who exercised a rule of iron over them. We found a middle way between sentimentalism and iron rule through the honor system and self-government. In this way we are trying to develop in them a sense of initiative and social responsibility.

GOVERNOR LOWDEN has appointed the following persons members of the Illinois Pension Laws Commission, which was continued for another two years by action of the State Legislature at its recent session:

George E. Hooker, Civic Secretary of the City Club of Chicago, Chairman.

John P. Dillon, Bureau of Streets, Chicago.

Prof. Henry Rietz, Professor of Mathematical Statistics at the University of Illinois.

Rufus C. Dawes, Central Trust Company.

The Commission submitted an elaborate report at the last session of the Legislature, but stated that it had been able to cover only a part of the field.

"THE British co-operative movement began with local association to operate grocery stores. As membership is open to anyone on a one-man-one-vote basis, and dividends are proportionate to purchases, these local units naturally developed branch stores. Then they federated to establish the English and

Scottish Wholesale Societies, which concentrate purchases and secure favorable terms. Banking, insurance and warehousing are functions of the Wholesale Societies. Both local stores and Wholesale Societies maintain factories and farms. The local associations are federated in a Co-operative Union, which provides lectures, clubs, and training classes on co-operative business, and acts as adviser to societies. The total business of the British movement amounts to more than \$500,000,000 a year, net profits are over \$70,000,000, yet 95 per cent of the 3,000,000 members have annual incomes of less than \$770. Business is controlled by working class consumers, on an absolutely democratic basis. The co-operative movement is possibly the most effective agency for better citizenship and for moral instruction in the United Kingdom."—*From article by James Ford of Harvard University in The Community Center.*

A PEOPLE'S LIBRARY

An Appreciation of the Service of HENRY E. LEGLER to Chicago
BY GRAHAM TAYLOR

IT is of the highest importance at this time, when a librarian is to be chosen to fill the place left vacant in the Chicago Public Library, by the death of Henry E. Legler, that the ideals by which Mr. Legler transformed the institution from a lifeless depository of books to an organic factor in the city's educational life should be understood and appreciated. It is important likewise that the highly efficient and special civil service methods by which Mr. Legler was brought into the service of Chicago should be indicated as a guide in the choice of his successor.

On October 30th, seventeen civic, educational and professional organizations united at Fullerton Hall in a memorial to Mr. Legler. The following estimate of Mr. Legler's personality and of the results which he accomplished in placing the public library on an efficient and democratic basis was given by Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago Commons.

Mr. Legler's accession to the librarianship not only marked, but safely met the most crucial crisis in the history of the Chicago Public Library.

During the 33 years in which his predecessor had risen from page to librarian, the library had been managed chiefly to promote its reference use and only incidentally to extend its circulation. And Mr. Hild was deservedly appreciated for his long sustained, patient and faithful service, for his intimate and accurate knowledge of the library's great collection, for his efficiency as a custodian of a large depository of books, and for his sincere and successful effort to put the library at the service of those who knew how to use it and what use they wanted to make of it.

The Clutch of Routine

But the public library then suffered severely by comparison with other libraries, which with even less expenditure, did a larger and more diversely useful work. Along most of the newer lines of educational, extension, and administrative progress in library service, this library in the second largest city of the land, with the third largest income and the fourth largest collection of books, stood only fifth in circulation, seventh in expenditure for books, and at the bottom of the list for its circulation through the schools, for its use of home libraries, its provision of trained service for children and in the number of its circulating centers.

There was therefore no recourse except to abandon progressive policies, or to seek an administrator who could and would initiate and lead them. The City Civil Service Commission gave the most cordial and positive assurance that neither effort nor method would be lacking in its determination to secure for the high educational office of public librarian the widest range of choice from the whole country, which the highest standard of civil service tests administered by the best experts available could secure.

How the New Librarian Was Chosen

The order to include the librarianship itself, as a civil service appointment to be made on the basis of a competitive examination, met with widespread skepticism and local opposition. But antagonism was largely overcome by the appointment of three of the most distinguished librarians of the country—Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress; Frank P. Hill of the Brooklyn Public Library, and Clement Andrews of Chicago's Crerar Library—to be the examiners for the Civil Service Commission.

The announcement that Henry E. Legler stood at the head of the list was hailed with great satisfaction both in Chicago and everywhere else, where its library situation and his qualifications and achievements were known. So experienced and successful had he been in organizing and administering the extension of library facilities of Wisconsin, as the secretary of its Free Library Com-

mission, that there was scarcely a hamlet in the state which failed to receive the benefit of library circulation and educational help. The best memorial Chicago could build to him would be a public library association for co-operating with its trustees and staff to promote and protect the people's interest in their library.

How he initiated and patiently developed this great new enterprise may best be stated in the way he filled the city's need, which one of our librarians thus described: "We need the work of an educator, as well as a technical expert. We need a man with tremendous tact, sympathy and great consideration for others in this reorganization of the present library condition, one who can arouse the apathetic, and those who think library affairs in Chicago entirely hopeless—as so many of the public school teachers do—one who also can win over those who are antagonistic to a change in the library's policy. These same qualities of tact, sympathy, and consideration for others, are just as necessary in dealing with those public-spirited people who have so earnestly and enthusiastically aided in furthering the library interests in the past and wish to continue their efforts in the future."

Spreading the Books to the People

Were anything needed to show that these words traced the likeness of Henry E. Legler, his own announcement of his acceptance of the appointment as librarian would prove him to correspond in every way to that picture of Chicago's need. His initial emphasis was laid upon adequate facilities for distributing books to all sections of Chicago; first, through existing agencies, and later by a carefully planned system of branches; upon the thorough organization and work with children, taking into account the intimate relations with the schools, playgrounds and other educational agencies; upon meeting the needs of people of foreign birth and language for reading material; upon serving groups of citizens allied with civic, industrial and other movements of public interest as a bureau of information and a gatherer of authentic data.

What rich return Chicago has received for the investment of Mr. Legler's all

too brief years in its citizenship and service, it has taken all of us to tell. It remains for me only to re-echo such expressions of the sense of loss which others who shared the gains of his friendly, democratic work would utter, could they have known him from without, as I did from within. For was he not the invisible friend who entered every home with every book that enriched the life, raised the standards and increased the equipment of the family? Great industrial plants and marts of trade have lost the hand that gave a new human touch to business by getting shop and store libraries recognized, not only as a luxury, but as a necessity. Our public schools and recreation centers never had a more resourceful, enterprising and constant ally. His invisible presence might have been recognized everywhere, not only in the great central library building, but in every one of its neighborhood branches. There he seemed to stand, inspiring the student, cheering the lonely and the homeless, enlivening and controlling the leisure of old age, guiding the joy of childhood, through the story hour, the picture display, the holiday histories. Thence he might be seen at the center of the groups of toil and sports as the march of the seasons rallied them to their outdoor and indoor life, and everywhere his life seemed to be the link between the people and the art, and verse and story, to which he introduced them through the companionship of books.

The Human Fellowship

Who, that ever met him, much more who that ever worked with him, can ever forget or fail to sense the loss of his unaffected, open-hearted approach, his low, mellow, sweet-toned voice; his simple, straightforward, ingenuous, outward bearing and inward attitude of mind.

Fellow-citizen, public servant, fellow-worker, man among man, no one's enemy, everyone's brotherly friend! All Chicago, much of the middle west, and no small part of this, our day and generation, are the richer, more human, and the harbingers of a brighter future because Henry Eduard Legler lived and worked with and for us all.

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VOLUME X

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1917

NUMBER 15

LUNCHEON TALKS AND OTHER AFFAIRS OF INTEREST

AT THE CITY CLUB

Thursday, Nov. 22—"Club Day" Luncheon; Speaking at 1:00.

"The Signal Corps in War Aviation, Deep-Sea Cable Work, Radio-Telegraphy, etc."—Col. Leonard D. Wildman, Chief Signal Officer, Central Department, U. S. Army.

Colonel Wildman, appointed in 1898, was the first aeronautical engineer in the United States Army. He was also one of the pioneers in radio work in this country.

Saturday, Nov. 24, at Luncheon; Speaking at 1:00.

"Issues of the War."—Hon. T. P. O'Connor, Author, Journalist and Member British Parliament.

Monday, Nov. 26, 8:00 P. M. Auspices Chicago Ethical Society.

"The Chinese Nightingale and Drama for Impromptu Actors."—Vachel Lindsay. Admission, 75c.

The proceeds of this lecture will go to War Relief.

Dinner, 6:30. Those desiring dinner, special or la carte service, will kindly make reservations in advance.

Friday, Nov. 30, 8:00 P. M. Ladies' Night—Illustrated

Travelogue.

"To the Shining Mountains and the Sunset Sea."—Gilbert McClurg, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Mr. McClurg takes his audience through Montana, Washington, the Yellowstone and the Mountain Rainier National Park.

Regular evening dinner service. Make dinner reservations in advance.

AT THE HOTEL LA SALLE.

Sunday to Tuesday, Nov. 25 to 27.

"Public Ownership Conference" under the auspices of Public Ownership League of America.

Announcement with complete program on page 275-276.

The City Club Bulletin

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court Telephone: Harrison 8278

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THE LISTENING POST

ONE hundred and eighteen members are in active military and naval service.

THE popular chamber music concerts at Fullerton Hall will hereafter be held on the first Wednesday evening in every month. The next one will be on Wednesday evening, December 5th.

OWING to a misunderstanding with the post office the special notice of last Friday's meeting arrived at the offices of some of the members with insufficient postage. The Club office announces that it will upon application cheerfully refund ONE CENT to all members who will present adequate proofs of title.

WE have guests from near and far. Among those from outside Chicago, introduced by members last week, were:

George Bollenbacher, Bloomington, Ind.
J. E. Bolling, New York.
Matt Brodie, Petrograd, Russia.
William Freyburger, Ellensburg, Wash.
M. A. Gifford, Bloomington, Ill.
Claude W. Gignoux, St. Louis.
Capt. E. W. Kleinman, M. O. R. C., Hailey, Idaho.
J. McCormick, San Francisco.
Fleming H. Revell, Jr., New York.
C. H. Sears, Chillicothe, Ohio.
Tom Salsman, New York.
James L. Steuart, New York.
F. R. Williams, Peoria.

THE following persons have recently joined the Club:

Samuel Gaylord, Merchandise Manager, Rothschild & Co.
C. H. Gogen, District General Manager, Trussed Steel Concrete Co.
Allan Hoben, Associate Professor, University of Chicago.
Royal L. Melendy, Arthur Young & Co., Efficiency Engineer.
Joseph L. Proctor, Buyer, Rice & Hutchins Shoe Co.
Leonard M. Riesser, Attorney, Mayer, Meyer, Austrian & Platt.

THOSE who were disappointed in not hearing "Tay Pay" last Saturday, will have the opportunity next Saturday at the same time and place. Mr. O'Connor's inability to fulfill his engagement last week was due to an unexpected call from Washington, which made necessary his absence from the city. Fortunately, it was possible to arrange a meeting of unusual interest for the occasion. Mr. Richard Hazleton, member of Parliament, from North Galway, spoke on "Ireland and the War." An account of Mr. Hazleton's address will be in the next Bulletin.

THE American Prison Association urges the use of the prison and reformatory farms as sources of agricultural and industrial supplies for the government during the war. At a conference held in Washington, D. C., July 2 and 3, between the executive committee of the American Prison Association and delegates from twenty-two states, resolutions were adopted urging the more intensive cultivation of the farm lands, the paroling of prisoners to farmers, the production of specific crops for government use, the development of such industries as will supply the goods needed by the army and navy. The rescinding by the President of the executive order of 1905, forbidding the purchase of the government of prison made goods, the employment of the trained penal officials in the establishment and administration of internment of concentration camps.

"The association urges that the prisoners be permitted to aid their country through an increase in the output of the farms and industries of the penal institutions."—*Institutional Quarterly of Illinois*.

THE City Club is going to be a downtown home for Sammies and Jackies on Saturday and Sunday afternoons when a plan approved by the directors is put into effect. Soldiers and sailors on leave from camp and having an idle hour can loaf it away at the City Club with games or magazines or snokes or nothing at all, if they like that sort of entertainment best.

The washroom, the billiard room and the other facilities of the Club will be at their disposal for convenience or amusement. Light refreshments will be on tap and served at cost.

The Club will be open to its guests as indicated from 2:30 to 11:00 Saturday and Sunday p. m.

Once in a while there will be entertainments. The Woman's City Club has entered into the scheme in a fine spirit of co-operation and will have charge of the entertainment feature. There will probably be a big stunt of some kind on the first night—maybe next Saturday night.

The committee in charge is soliciting contributions of money, games, periodicals or what have you to help this along.

WHEN the milkman adds a nickel to the price of milk what happens? A "Committee on Milk" appointed by Mayor Mitchell has been trying to find out what happened in New York. Last year, New York milk prices went from 9c to 14c per quart. The committee, in its report to the mayor, says:

1. *That the present high cost of milk has reduced the total supply of the city by approximately 25 per cent.*

2. *That the present high cost of milk has in many sections of the city reduced the quantity of milk used by as much as 50 per cent.*

3. *That in some sections the quantity used for infants and children has been reduced below the minimum which the best medical science considers necessary for the maintenance of health.*

4. *That there has been a recent increase in infant mortality which the Health Department believes to be due to a decreased use of high grade milk.*

In Chicago, the State Council of Defense, the U. S. Food Administration,

the City Council Health Committee, and a number of civic organizations (including the Wartime Committee of the City Club) are trying to find a way to get cheaper milk for the city. One practical suggestion which is receiving close attention is that a system of co-operative deliveries be adopted. It is estimated that this would knock at least two cents from the price of a quart of milk.

THE City Club has placed its facilities at the disposal of the commissioned officers of the United States army and navy, including officers of the national guard and of the army and navy reserve corps. Letters extending an invitation to these officers to make use of the conveniences of the club when in Chicago have been addressed to Col. J. A. Ryan, Fort Sheridan; Major T. H. Barry, Rockford; Major General Carter, Commanding Central Department, Chicago, and Captain W. A. Moffett, Commandant, U. S. Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill. Replies accepting the hospitality of the club have been received.

THE Club restaurant is now serving better food than has been served in the memory of the oldest charter member.

It all happens through a little problem in arithmetic which the House Committee set itself a couple of months ago. Some of the acute mathematical minds on that committee figured out that if more members, when hungry, would eat at "315" instead of Somewhere on Clark Street, enough could be saved in the overhead expense to allow better food for the same money.

Did the House Committee then go out into the byways and highways and implore members to please eat at the City Club? It didn't. It started the other end to. *It improved the food first.* It hired a baker to bake fine bread and fancy pies and cakes. It bought better grades of food and had them tastefully seasoned. It introduced a more delicate touch into the service. Now there is no place in the loop where you can get as good food, tastefully served, for the price.

HAVE FAITH IN RUSSIA, IS PLEA OF DR. BILLINGS

*Red Cross Commissioner Brings Thrilling Story
of Events in Big Storm Center*

"IT makes no difference who is on top in Russia today," said Dr. Billings in his address last Friday. The success of the Bolsheviks may delay things, but Russia has big men, patriotic men, men of ability, who, though not at present in the saddle, will get there, and who are capable of restoring order and saving Russia. There are enough patriotic units in the Russian army to win the war, if the others would only go home and go to work." Dr. Billings paid a high tribute to the ability and patriotism of Kerensky, whose earlier radicalism, he said, had been tempered by his experiences as head of the revolutionary government. Dr. Billings was head of the American Red Cross Commission which traveled to Russia to ascertain conditions and to arrange for relief work there and his knowledge of conditions is based on direct contact with the leaders of Russian affairs.

The Treason of the Autocrats

The revolution came, Dr. Billings said, as the result of the seditious plotting of the Russian autocracy to bring about a separate peace. Food was deliberately withheld from the population of Petrograd and Moscow in order that confusion might be stirred up behind the lines. The conditions in the army were also deliberately made worse in order to bring about a peace with Germany. The revolution which followed was taken advantage of by the extreme Socialists and radicals, who undermined the discipline in the army by placing authority in soldiers' committees and by abolishing the death penalty.

The radical socialist elements, he said, made serious mistakes in their dealings with the peasants. For instance, they tried to bring about a confiscation of lands, including those of the peasants, and so aroused a storm of opposition. They limited the prices of articles produced by the peasants, but not of those which the peasants had to buy—and the

peasant accordingly did not care to sell his products. The peasants, Dr. Billings said, though nearly 80% illiterate, are far from ignorant, and they have marvellous mechanical ingenuity, evidenced by their ability to contrive things with the most primitive implements..

Among the most interesting of the stirring events described by Dr. Billings, was that of the Korniloff rebellion, which he said was originally planned between Kerensky and Korniloff, as a coup to allow the arrest of Bolshevik agitators and bring about a restoration of law and order. The plan miscarried through the fault of a messenger, who convinced Kerensky that Korniloff actually proposed to make himself dictator.

Return of the Exiles

After the revolution, there was an exodus to Russia of anarchists, socialists, and terrorists of the most extreme character, who had been exiled in foreign countries. On the boat on which Dr. Billings sailed, there were at least three hundred of them. They carried both the red flag of anarchy and the red flag of revolution, and preached that America was not a land of freedom, but the land of the capitalist and almost as autocratic as old Russia.

People Want No Separate Peace

The majority of the people of Russia, according to Dr. Billings, do not want a separate peace. That demand comes from the socialists alone and is encouraged by the machinations of German agents. The strong patriotic elements among the people, including the Order of the Chevaliers of St. George and the Cossacks, are against the disorganizing policies of the extreme radicals and do not want a separate peace. Dr. Paul Milyukoff, who in July had been pessimistic about the situation, said before Dr. Billings left Russia that by next spring Russia should have an army in the field which could successfully oppose the Germans.

A LOOK AT THE BIG NATIONAL CIRCUS

Aid to Secretary of War Lifts Curtain for Glimpse of "World's Biggest"

RALPH A. HAYES is secretary to the Secretary of War. He has a private admission card, not only to the big tent, but to the side shows, and meets the actors and the clowns every day of his life. The editor is sorry that there isn't room in this Bulletin to print everything that Mr. Hayes said in his recent talk here.

FOLK with memories which go back to ante-bellum times remember a Washington that was staid and calm, where people could be found at tea in mid-afternoon, and where the niceties of social form were things to conjure with. But that was long ago. Do you remember the feeling with which you viewed your first three ring circus? Do you remember sitting under the big top, munching peanuts, and watching the juggler, only to have your attention distracted by the antics of the trapeze performers at the far end of the enclosure; and then to have the clown dash in from the opposite side of the tent, while train robbers were arranging a little matter in their own quarter, and the musical seals were preparing to render "How Dry I am?" Do you remember your feeling of hopelessness and anguish at having so many simultaneous happenings while the human eye was so fashioned as to focus at a single point? That is one's feeling in Washington—excepting that there are more than three rings and the performance is not always a circus.

War Department No Movie Show

The War Department, however, is something of a disillusionment. It bears no striking resemblance to the war council of the movies, with the heavy-jowelled generals sitting in orderly fashion around the ponderous table, the over-decorated chests, the abundance of momentous looking documents, the pointings to the great maps on the wall and to the globe in the corner. There seems to have been little thought for the theatrical, and the awakening might be surprising to one who had built up a stage setting complexly built and fair to look at if not to work with.

Still other disappointments are in store for him who has pictured the Secretary

of War as an individual engaged constantly in studying battle plans, mapping military campaigns, and deciding knotty problems of martial strategy. Unhappily, his energies are far scattered, but sometimes the War Department performs military functions, and the record of its stewardship is not an unworthy one.

Mobilizing the Man Power

All the man-power of the nation between the ages of 21 and 31—ten millions strong—has been registered and tabulated; one group of more than half a million has been called in active training. By the operation of this scheme from the beginning of the struggle, our utilization of man-power will be conservative, methodical, and fairly distributed. A great nation has "gone to war" in a way not unbefitting its greatness.

But we do not fight by men alone. The factories of the country are being transformed that the men of our armies may be adequately clothed and suitably fed. Mammoth orders of weapons from the skillfully modified English Enfield to types of the heaviest artillery are being hurried to completion.

An aircraft program of stupendous proportions and remarkable development has passed from the prophetic stage to the beginning of a splendid reality.

Great Soldier Cities Built

And all through this land, in a number and size that is enlightening and cheering, the War Department has built great soldier cities where the citizen army is gathering. Sixteen huge cantonments, each with a capacity of 40,000 men, from Long Island to American Lake for the National Army; sixteen great tented camps from Montgomery to Linda Vista for the federalized Guard;

nine mobilization points for the Regular Army, from Fort Myer in Virginia to Vancouver Barracks; three Engineer camps; five medical camps; eight flying fields and aviation camps; nine reserve officers' camps; three great embarkation ports—these are some of the far flung activities which are in actual operation and operating with a single thought.

More than that, infantrymen, artillerymen, foresters, stevedores, aviators and engineers are close behind the French line, and on that line under our colors in numbers which are not inconsiderable and which grow with every passing week.

It seems simple to say that the National Army is being encamped. But a "close-up" at the facts reveals that the sheltering of the National Army is a job which dwarfs the building of the Panama Canal. The largest year's operations on the Isthmus saw \$46,000,000 spent. The cantonments were built in 90 days; they represent an investment of \$150,000,000. Each cantonment will house about 40,000 people; eleven states have no city as big as that and thirteen others have but one city as big or bigger.

The size of this work will probably never be known to those laymen of us to whom a building is merely a building; but it does mean something to know that each cantonment required 9,350,000 square feet of roofing felt and an even carload of tacks to fasten it down; and it may be interesting to know that the lumber in these sixteen cantonments, made into sidewalks, would go four times around the world.

Marvelous Accomplishments in Transportation

Let us take a random, fleeting look at another of the War Department's activities—its transportation work, whether by locomotive, or auto truck, or airplane. On August 9, there was delivered to the War Department a finished locomotive, 20 working days after the contract for it had been let. Since that time an average of three completed locomotives have been delivered each day.

As to the airplane, there is none of us whose pulse has not been quickened by the story of the Liberty Motor. There is romance in the story of that group of American engineers who met early in

June, who remained five days in session, who pooled their trade secrets, and who, 24 days later, on the morning of Independence Day, saw the composite motor that their united skill had devised, in actual operation at the Bureau of Standards. Now in hundreds of factories that simple and standardized machine is being multiplied with a rapidity hitherto unparalleled. Not less spectacular in its development of less valuable in its acquisition than the Liberty Motor is the standardized motor truck.

One asks himself many times: What are the bird's-eye characteristics of this war-time effort? What are the attributes which future historians, seeing it whole, will give to it?

The most obvious of them is, of course, size. A billion dollar Congress once was a subject for gossip, if not for suspicion; one division of the War Department—the Quartermaster Corps—which, under the appropriation of August, 1916, had to worry along on \$98,000,000, will expend during this fiscal year \$3,550,000,000. Certainly size is the most astounding feature though not the only one.

Young Men and the War

There is another characteristic of this war and of our part in it. Wars have ever been waged by the young men of their generations; but in this struggle, that fact is accentuated. Our National Army, of course, is composed almost exclusively of men from within the youthful limits of the Selective Service Act. If one forces himself to forget the tragic background for a moment; if he disregards the morality and considers only the mechanics of it all, it may be said that the existing ferment of excitement and of revolutionary activity has solved a rather pressing problem which confronted the youngsters of this generation. This time of the world's history once seemed a pretty prosaic one in which to be born. It seemed highly unfortunate to live in an age after both the hemispheres and all of the poles had been discovered; when the open season for Indians had long since passed; when there were no buffaloes to hunt; when train robberies weren't any longer fashionable, and when piracy had come to be looked down upon by most of the world. Life seemed a dreary stretch of **uneventful**

existence; but all that now is changed with a vengeance.

It is possible to establish, I think, by an open-minded canvas of the facts that an essential honesty has prevailed in our preparations and that favoritism have been stamped out wherever possible. I like to think, too, that America's conduct in raising her military forces has been characterized, thus far, at least, by an essential orderliness. It seems not unfair to say that our participation is developing systematically, rather than through those chance, spasmodic accretions of men and materials along the line of least resistance.

Uncle Sam a Father to Boys

Time was when an individual in an Army was not much more than a pawn on a battlefield. But years to come will magnify the story of Uncle Sam's attempt to be father of his boys in camp as well as their leader on the battlefield.*

The Occupational and Vocational Division is engaged in a remarkable comprehensive work of ascertaining from each man what he can best do. A compact but minute record is taken of each entrant at the National Army cantonments—his qualifications, his education, his experience, his ambitions. Reports selected at random from Camp Sherman show that on October 2 there were furnished to the Division Inspector 2 stenographers and 100 bakers; to the Captain of the 329th Infantry 18 druggists, 3 dentists, two physicians, 2 nurses, and 6 medical students. So proceeds the great work of keeping square pegs out of round holes. Those responsible for this part of the War Department's activities are a group of men, including Professor Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University, who have frustrated every attempt to give them the credit they deserve for the work they are doing.

Then, there is the Commission on Training Camp Activities, an agency for re-establishing the social ties which have been broken, for effecting substitutes for the educational and relaxational opportunities to which the men have been ac-

customed, for rationalizing, insofar as possible, the bewildering environment of a war camp. Therefore, a huge fund has been raised to furnish suitable and sufficient reading for the camps; therefore, a theater is being built in every cantonment; therefore, a million little song-books have been printed for a nominal cost that ours may be a singing as well as a fighting army. If you have never heard an army division grouped about a leader on a high platform sing out, 25,000 strong, the strains of the Battle Hymn of the Republic and crash into the refrain, "His truth is marching on"—if you have not heard that, you have an emotional experience yet to live for.

Is this a Popular War?

There have been those—not many, but noisy—who have shouted in the market place that this is not a people's war, not a popular war. But what is it that we people have been asked for that has not been forthcoming? A Liberty Loan of two billions was proposed, it was over-subscribed; a Red Cross gift of one hundred millions was asked, it was oversubscribed; another Liberty Loan for three billions, too, was oversubscribed. So much for the citizenry.

Now what about the troops? Among the data collected by the Occupational and Vocational Division is a statement as to the branch of service the men prefer. Astonishing to relate, less than ten men in a hundred expressed a preference for non-hazardous service. So if anyone should tell you that the National Army has gone into the cantonments because it had to, you can say, that it is going "over the top" because it wants to.

How Democracy Makes War

As a matter of fact there are two kinds of popularity, two kinds of enthusiasm. One is the sort which paws the air on every corner, which gauges the degree of success by the degree of excitement, which is unhappy if it is not worked up to an emotional frenzy. The other is the sort which has registered the manpower of the nation, built cities to house it, transported a million men, put an increasing army across three thousand miles of foe-infested ocean—all without the deification of the heralding sound of cymbals or the beat of drums. Personal-

*Mr. Hayes described the activities of the Quartermasters Corps, the Medical Corps, the Public Health Service, the Adjutant General and other branches of the service in looking after the welfare of the men.

ly, I have my choice. No one who has seen our troops march off for transport overseas can fail to catch the spirit that is there—not a blinded passion, not a wild lust for blood, not a craze for killing, but a steady, fearless, calm, and quiet determination—upon their brows the high resolve to establish a peace made permanent through the democratized control that has set this western land upon a pinnacle before all the nations of men. Lincoln would have it so, I think; or Washington.

There are those of us whose fathers saw the light of day in foreign lands, those of us whose fathers sought these shores with hopes that have not been

vain; and we count the privileges of living in a land which thinks more of the "Prince of Peace" than of the "God of War"; more of "Christmas Carols" than of "Hymns of Hate"; more of its soul than of its body; which holds as sacred the "scraps of paper" which bears it superscription; which has no thought of preying upon peaceful neighbor nations. The young men of this day have not forgotten the spirit of this America, and millions strong shall see that the torch whose gleams since '76 have lighted the shores of Republican France and democratized England and awakened but exhausted Russia, shall not grow dim nor perish from the earth.

CHILDREN'S WAR WORK PERIL TO NATION

*Drift to Farms and Factories Endangers Nations Youth,
Say Symposium Speakers*

"At the present time when war is destroying so much of its best manhood, the nation is under special obligation to secure that the rising generation grows up strong and hardy, both in body and character. It is necessary to guard not only against immediate breakdown, but also against the imposition of strains that may stunt future growth and development."
—From report by British Committee on Health of Munition Workers.

CHILDREN between 14 and 16 years of age can earn under present war conditions as high as \$2.75 a day. Some parents and some children think they need the money more than the children need the schools. High living costs, high wages for children, in some cases the absence of the breadwinner, and the pressure of farms and factories for "hands" have started a drift from the schools into industry and agriculture. These were some of the facts which came out at the symposium on "Children in Industry in War Time," last Monday evening. There were a dozen speakers on the program and in essence the question which each one had in mind was this: Is the nation in its push for a big output of war materials to endanger the foundations upon which the vitality of its future manhood and womanhood rest?

The principal address was by Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the

National Child Labor Committee, the committee through whose efforts the new federal child labor law was passed.

Owen R. Lovejoy

"There has been a tendency," said Mr. Lovejoy, "all over the country to break down the standards established for the protection of children after many hard years of effort. Our first impulse when the war broke out was to set these standards aside because of what we thought was immediate necessity. We were in danger of doing what Europe did. When the war broke out the school systems of England, France and the other countries involved in the war were pretty generally neglected. Many of the male school teachers had gone to the front and their places were taken by old men and women, who had been teachers years ago, with outof-date methods and spirit.

"There was also a rapid increase in juvenile delinquency, in some cities as

high as 40%. This was true not only in England but in the continental countries and even in Germany. When father went to war and mother worked in a munitions plant, with the policeman gone and the city dark, even little German children would go wrong. In seventeen leading German cities there was an increase of 55% of juvenile delinquency in one year.

"After a time, in England, the Committee on Health of Munition Workers made an investigation and reported that the life of the nation was being sapped and that the welfare of the younger generation was being permanently injured. There has now been a complete reaction. Not only have old standards been restored but along some lines there has even been an advance. The educational budget bill is asking for more money for educational purposes than has ever been asked for before. It is the intention that every child so far as possible shall have at least part time education until he is 18 years of age.

School Days in France

"In France also there has been a wonderful awakening. Boys and girls can be seen going to school behind the lines, protected by gas masks, going through abandoned trenches and meeting their teacher in a cellar. In France there is from 70% to 80% of the normal school attendance."

"The National Child Labor Committee has been trying to get this country to save the child from the tragedy of neglect. Children have been going into industry and to the farms in some parts of the country without any supervision. Our committee sent inquiries to the farmers to find out if they wanted city boys and girls to help them, and almost unanimously the answer was, 'No, we would like to have men with brains and muscle, but not city boys and girls who would eat their heads off and scare the cattle.'

Wrong Way to Increase Farm Output

"There is a lot of land in this country that is not being efficiently used. It has been impossible for us, under present conditions, to get food enough. That is one reason why so many people have thought it necessary to exploit the children by sending them to the farms. Dis-

tress is indeed serious, but this is a problem which we must take and solve in some other way. If we will only help the farmer to unload at a price which will pay him for his work when the crop is raised, we will have all the food we need.

"Of course, in some cases children's farm work has had a measure of success. It was a fine thing for the city children to come up against the practical problems that they had to meet on the farm. Now that the Boys' Working Reserve has specified that no boy labor under sixteen is to be encouraged, we can feel more secure about the situation.

Why not Make School Interesting?

"The statement is often made that there is nothing in the school to interest the child after the age of fourteen. That is thought to be a reason for letting him go to work. We ought to be ashamed to adopt this solution. We ought to vitalize the whole educational scheme through vocational studies and so on. All our boys and girls need contact with real things."

Mr. Lovejoy urged that the problem of child conservation should be dealt with on a national scale. He urged close attention to the physical well-being of children. "Our draft exemption boards," he said, "have brought out some startling facts about the physical well-being of the young men of the country. A medical journal recently stated that of twenty million children in schools throughout the country sixteen million are physically unfit. School children, he urged, should be given frequent physical examinations, and an accurate physical record be kept which should follow each child through school and into his work and which would afford a means by which the community could determine how the school and his employment are affecting his health.

Chicago's Program

Efforts, necessarily limited in scope, are being made in Chicago by various organizations to encourage children to resist the luring prospect of immediate earnings and to remain in school. They endeavor to convince children and their parents of the financial and other benefits to be realized from a longer attend-

ance at school. In some cases, scholarships have been provided to allow children of needy families to continue their studies. Other organizations have been endeavoring to insure proper supervision of the conditions under which children are employed, particularly on the farms. The work of these organizations was described by various symposium speakers, who, besides Mr. Lovejoy, were:

Mrs. Wm. B. Hefferan, Schools Committee, Woman's City Club.

Mrs. Herman W. Winslow, Education Dept., Chicago Woman's Club.

Mrs. Addison W. Moore, Scholarship Committee, Vocational Supervision League.

Miss Jessie F. Binford, Committee on Children in Industry, Council of National Defense.

Mrs. Sophia S. Lamb, Farm Employment Bureau, Chicago Daily News.

Mr. Gordon A. Ramsay, American Agricultural Cadets.

Mr. John D. Shoop, Chicago Public Schools.

Miss Anne S. Davis, Operation of the New

Child Labor Law.

Mr. James Mullenbach.

Prof. George H. Mead.

"Heretofore," said Prof. Mead, "we have had the competitive ideal of education. We have considered the school as a place for children who are willing to

make use of it for their own benefit, but we now realize that the school is a community obligation. The work of the organizations which have been described here tonight are merely a sample of what the community as a whole ought to do in a large way for the child. The community owes to all children an education in or out of the school up to the age of eighteen."

"We are said to be fighting to make democracy safe," said Mr. Mullenbach. "We are really fighting to make the world safe for the children. The child is the end product of all our civilization, and all our social institutions find their justification in the service they render to the children. The child has a right to be well born, with rich, red blood, unpolluted by disease. He has the right to a home and the right to a free expression of his own desires and creative impulses, so that he may become a responsible citizen in a free commonwealth. It is this right which is the function of the school to conserve and develop, and it is because there are children who have been denied these rights that the organizations which have been described here to-night have been formed."

OWING to the lack of space last week, it was impossible to print Father De Ville's interesting account of the national fete at Brussels. He said:

Last year I was at the national fete in Brussels. Flowers were placed on the monument to the martyrs of Belgian independence. The next morning the Germans discovered this and had the place roped off. They they ordered the stores to be kept open. This order was complied with, but no goods were exhibited. The men of the city were dressed in black and wore in their button-holes green ribbons, symbol of hope. Although they were not allowed to approach the monument, they would go as near to the monument as the ropes would let them, and the men took off their hats and women bowed, and throughout the whole day the procession went by. Then the people were summoned by the bells to the cathedral. On the way I saw an old crippled man accidentally bump into an officer and the officer strike him with

his fist. But when the officer raised his hand to strike again, there was such a cry from the people near him that the officer was afraid and shrunk away.

At ten o'clock mass was said in the cathedral for the martyred heroes of Belgium and Cardinal Mercier preached that famous sermon "Courage mes freres." He told the people that although they must obey the enemy they owed him no obedience, that the only authority which they should acknowledge was that of their King and Queen. When the service was over the pent-up enthusiasm of months broke out. "Vive le roi! Vive le Belgique! Vive la Cardinal!" they shouted. People lined the streets, but the German guards did not dare to make an arrest.

The next day the city was fined a million francs for this demonstration, and for the next three months every resident of the city was required to be in his house by eight o'clock.

FREE SPEECH ISSUE, CLIMAX TO BESTOR TALK

THERE was a dramatic climax to the "Club day" luncheon last Thursday, when, at the close of Arthur E. Bestor's address on the "War and the Making of Public Opinion," a member of the audience expressed from the floor his views on the subject of free speech in wartime. The policy of suppression adopted by the government, he charged, is preventing the expression of minority opinion and is forcing it underground, whence it may break out some day in disastrous ways.

Mr. Bestor is the director of the Speakers' Division of the Committee on Public Information at Washington. His address was a plea for the instruction of the individual citizen as the purposes of the war and the part he should play in it.

"Before the war," replied Mr. Bestor, "it was the prerogative of every citizen to express his views as to whether or not this country should go to war. But the time comes when a democracy makes up its mind and every believer in a representative system of government must accept the decision as made, as truly as if he himself had been sitting in the House of Representatives and voting upon the war. The government has undoubted power in war time to force unity and co-operation behind the war program. How far a policy of suppression should go I do not undertake to say. But if any citizen cannot agree with the decision of the majority, as made by his representatives, he should at least keep his mouth shut."

Ruthless Suppression Inadvisable

Mr. Bestor in his address, indicated that he did not believe in a ruthless policy of suppression. "I do not believe," he said, "that a democracy can function properly which uses that method. I do not believe in mob rule. The Bigelow incident was not only a crime against democracy, but a colossal blunder as well. If a large minority hold views opposed to those of the majority, a policy of ruthless suppression cannot be effective. In wartime, of course, it becomes nec-

essary to put a limit to some things and people who are seditious must be put where they cannot do harm. But, however much suppression may be necessary, along with it must go the positive task of educating the masses of the people as to the real reasons for the war and the part which they can play in it."

"Everyone must realize," Mr. Bestor said, "that America entered the war chiefly on account of the belief of its intelligent classes. It is too much to say, perhaps, that a majority of the country was not in favor of the war, but it is true that for weeks before the only people who thought that the war was inevitable and who urged it upon the country were the educated men and women. In a war for which the intellectual group was so largely responsible, the educated people of the country must see to it that America keeps steadfast to its job."

Public Opinion Big War Factor

"In wars of the past, public opinion did not play so large a part as it does today. Wars were fought only by armies and not by the people. If the war is to be won, it will be won not because a mere majority of the American people are in favor of it, but because the great overwhelming majority are willing to undergo the sacrifices necessary to bring it to a successful conclusion."

Mr. Bestor outlined some of the things which individuals can do to help in winning the war. "Unless we are willing, individually," he said, "to cut down our food consumption, we will not have the necessary surplus to send to our Allies. Do you realize, to take but a single example, that in this country each of us consumes from 85 to 90 pounds of sugar annually, but Italy's portion of sugar now is 19 pounds, and the highest of any of our Allies is 27 pounds per person. When the German troops are preparing for a big attack, they can be given a pound of sugar per day, whereas, the best that France can do is a pound per month. This year our Allies must import 60% of their food supply."

ENGLISH WOMEN IN WAR TO FINISH

To Fight in Trenches if Needed, Says Mrs. Harold Peat

ENGLISH women are in the war to the finish, asserted Mrs. Harold Peat of London, in her address last Monday. "We took up the work of the men," she said, "in 1914 and 1915; we kept it up in 1916, we are keeping it up to-day and we will keep it up till 1930 if necessary, for we realize that if we don't fight this war to a finish we will go under—and go under forever. And if the time comes when our young men have gone and our older men have gone, we will go into the trenches ourselves, if necessary to win the war."

Mrs. Peat was formerly a newspaper woman, associated with *The London Chronicle*, and since the beginning of the war has been doing active war work. She is the wife of "Private Peat" a Canadian soldier who was wounded and "gassed" by the Germans after two years service in the trenches and whom she met while doing hospital duty behind the lines. Those who attended the luncheon had the pleasure of hearing the story of this romance from Mrs. Peat herself. "Women in the War Zone," was the subject of her talk.

The War Works of Women

"About three million women in England," Mrs. Peat said, "are doing men's work. When the men volunteered, the women took up their places and now they are engaged in almost every kind of occupation as window cleaners, railway porters, conductors in motor busses and so on. About a million and a half of them are in the munition works. In the Woolich Arsenal for instance, in August, 1914, 125 women were employed. Now there are 25,000. In 1915, there were only a few factories at Gretna Green—now there is a factory nine miles long, employing 28,000 workers, of whom about 27,000 are women. Along the Clyde, there is a submarine factory which has a few men superintendents, but in which practically all the work is done by women.

"The taking over of the men's work by the women has not injured them physically. In fact, their physical condition is better than before. They are too busy

to be troubled with illness. In the munitions industries they work eight-hour shifts six days a week, and are very carefully watched over by physicians, who give them periodical physical examinations, and by welfare workers.

Women Want Retaliation

The spirit of the women of England, Mrs. Peat asserted, is bitter against the Germans. "We want the people of Germany," she said, referring to the Zeppelin outrages, "to feel a little of what we have got." It is this bitterness of spirit, emphasized by personal losses at the front which nerves the women to the strenuous efforts of producing the munitions of war under conditions which involve hard labor, personal risks and the sacrifice of personal appearance.

English women, Mrs. Peat asserts, have learned the importance of saving. "We have to be careful of our food," she said, "We have to substitute war bread for white bread and have been short of some things like sugar, but we have never been short a meal. We do not eat cake or candy. Grown people do not drink milk, but save it for the children. Tuesdays and Fridays are meatless days. One important thing is that we don't get such large helpings as you do in this country. It seems to me it would be better if your hotels and restaurants would serve smaller portions and charge less."

Save Children is Plea

"The women," Mrs. Peat said, "have also learned the importance of the conservation of children. Twenty years from now our children will be taking the places of the young men whom we are losing today. Germany forty years ago started the conservation of her children, and that is the reason why she can now send from 700,000 to 800,000 boys of military age into the field every year. We women believe that with us rests the future of our nation's manhood; that we are the guardians of the unborn generations of those men who will guide us in years to come in the principles for which we are fighting—the principles of love, of liberty and of life."

CHICAGO CHILDREN IN STREET TRADES

By ELSA WERTHEIM, Special Officer for Juvenile Occupations, Juvenile Protective Associations

OF all the horrors of war whose story has been coming to us from the other side, one of the most insidious is the account of increasing crime among children in the warring countries. The cities of these warring countries warn us against relinquishing our care over our little citizens, lest we reap disorder at home while attempting to plant order abroad. The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago has just published an account of its investigation into one of the prolific sources of child delinquency in peace times, in the belief that such a publication is especially significant when war threatens to increase the crop of young delinquents.

An Unwholesome Employment for Children

The investigation referred to is a study of Chicago children in street trades. Within the last two years, the Juvenile Protective Association has studied the cases of 660 children engaged in street trading. Its conclusions testify to the unwholesome conditions attaching to their work. The report says:

"To sum up the damaging influences to which street trading children are subject in Chicago, and against which our ordinance seeks to protect them, these may be said to be the depletion of their future strength and health by fatigue and exposure—the supplanting or interruption of the education with which taxpayers are providing these children—the great temptation to mendicancy, and to 'doing' the public by various sharp practices. In addition to his freedom in the disposal of his time, the average child in the street trades is the possessor of an uncomputed sum of money. He becomes to a large extent the master of his time, his nourishment, his pleasure and his whereabouts. Thus with a child's judgment, he has upon his shoulders the entire responsibility for his own career among the temptations of Chicago."

While family need is the argument most frequently accepted by the public in defense of allowing these small mer-

chants to ply their trade, the investigation found the child's earnings absolutely required in only nineteen per cent of the cases. But, although only nineteen per cent of these street traders were found to come from families which actually depended on the child's earnings, the great majority came from restricted homes in restricted neighborhoods, which offered the children no alternative to trading in the streets outside of school hours other than running the streets idle. This is spoken especially for the boys, as the girls are more wanted at home.

A Problem for the School

The overwhelming need in these neighborhoods is for proper recreation for children outside of school hours. Settlements and playgrounds struggle to provide this, but no agency, as yet established, is able to provide it for the child mob, which the public school dismisses in mid-afternoon, except the public school which dismisses them; and no other agency so holds them in the hollow of its hand, for they are in the school when their leisure time begins. The long wide corridors of the school building are suggesting of marching drills; the expensive gymnastic equipment should be used to capacity in developing the physique of the future citizen. The lads should be encouraged to do their bit by instruction in cobbling their shoes and mending their clothes; in the spring and fall there should be the school or community garden; and the school would gain much in the affections of the children by borrowing the popular entertainment of the neighborhood theaters and holding wisely conducted local song contests in which the fondness of the children for getting together and singing well-known songs would be properly encouraged, instead of being commercially exploited.

All complaints of cash shortage and coal shortage to the contrary notwithstanding, the children are here and must be cared for somehow.

IS THE WORLD FACING STARVATION?

UNDER the title, "The World Famine Into Which We Are Hurrying," Sidney Webb, in the October number of the *Contemporary Review*, issues a warning of the conditions which may be expected to follow the war.

"At the close of the war," he says, "what the various governments will be faced with will not be opportunities of enriching themselves at the cost of their enemies, but the imminent danger of famine, in one country or another; with a calamitous general deficiency of some of the principal foodstuffs, such as cereals and meat, threatening, quite possibly, extensive local starvation; with huge deficiencies in most countries in such materials as the metallic ores, coal, timber, hides, oil, wool, rubber, potash, etc., without which civil employment of the demobilized millions cannot be resumed, and with such a scarcity of merchant shipping and railway wagons, and such a dilapidation of all the ways of land transport as seriously to aggravate all the shortages of commodities. In some parts of Europe and Asia, it is scarcely too much to say, society may be not far from dissolution from sheer want. What the diplomatists must necessarily settle, actually as part of the very negotiations for peace, is how this quite imminent peril of widespread unemployment and starvation can be averted."

Only the most radical measures, Mr. Webb predicts, will serve. "Simple reliance on the 'Law of Supply and Demand,' and 'Freedom of Trade,' in the unparalleled world shortage into which we are steering, would result (as it did in Ireland in 1847 and in many other cases) in foodstuffs being exported from lands where people are dying of starvation, because they have no means of paying the high prices that the foodstuffs are fetching elsewhere; that is to say, in the rich persons, the rich classes, the rich countries being able to satisfy all their needs, and the poor getting absolutely nothing. In the interests not only of humanity, but also of the continued prosperity of the rest of the world, this crushing of the poor into starvation must not be allowed.

And in the present state of Europe the poor will not allow it. They would rise in revolt and upset any government."

The policy of *laissez faire* and of a purely nationalistic solution of this problem will have to be abandoned, Mr. Webb says, and the allocation of the commodities of which there is a scarcity will have to be made through some international machinery. It should be an essential item in the conditions of peace, he urges, that for a period of at least a year the export of certain essential commodities, together with merchant shipping, should be under the control of an International Commission which "would be charged to allocate all the supplies and their conveyance, not with a view to making the utmost profit, or indeed any profit, but in due regard to the relative urgency and degree of the needs of the respective peoples." Such a commission, Mr. Webb says, would be the first organ of the supernational authority, in which the war must find its end. Within each country a like plan will have to be adopted. The control over distribution already established in various villages and countries for war purposes will have to be continued. This would be essential to the scheme for international distribution, for "the world is not going to bother to send food to Armenia or Belgium, to secure timber or potash for the United Kingdom, to keep Italy or Switzerland regularly supplied with coal, to provide Poland with wool and Norway with petroleum, without, at the same time, getting an assurance that these things are not to be permitted to be bought up solely by the rich, to the exclusion of the poor and needy." * * *

"The principle on which the world must act, both internationally and within each country, is 'No cake for anyone until all have bread.' The question is, how far in this direction will the governmental and international control need to extend in order to prevent what might otherwise be only a general 'going short' from degenerating into local famines."

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP CONFERENCE COMING

A galaxy of star speakers has been provided for the Public Ownership Conference to be held at the Hotel La Salle, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, November 25th to 27th, under the auspices of the Public Ownership League of America. "The conference," says the announcement, "will probably concentrate its energies upon certain specific problems and immediate measures that are already before the country, and in some cases at least, have reached the state of actual proposals in Congress."

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

HON. A. M. TODD, President's Address, "Municipal and Public Ownership in Europe."

Professor CHARLES ZUEBLIN—"The Public Ownership of Railroads."

LOUIS F. POST—"The Public Ownership of Land."

GIFFORD PINCHOT—"The Conservation of Natural Resources."

HENRY H. KLEIN—"Proper Methods of Financing the Acquisition."

2:30 P. M.

HARRY LAIDLER, I. S. S., New York—"A Survey of Public Ownership Throughout the World."

DELOS F. WILCOX, Ph.D., Public Utility Expert—"Financial and Administrative Preparation for Municipal Ownership."

J. W. BROWN, of the National Executive Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, Birmingham, Ala.—"Why Organized Labor is for Public Ownership."

SAMUEL R. MAXWELL, Denver, Colorado, Organizer for the National Nonpartisan League—"The Farmer's Interest in Public Ownership."

HENRY M. ASHTON, Chicago—"The Municipal Ownership Movement in Chicago."

DR. M. G. LLOYD, Associate Electrical Engineer, Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.—"Standards for Electric and Gas Service."

7:30 P. M.

E. W. BEMIS, Chicago—"From Regulation to Public Ownership."

HON. CARL S. VROOMAN, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.—"Public Ownership of Railways."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING—"Public Ownership and Internationalism." A survey of public ownership throughout the world.

HON. JAMES B. BALCH, Mayor of Kalamazoo, Michigan—"Municipal Fuel Yards."

J. G. GLASGOW, Manager Winnipeg Municipal Light and Power Department, Winnipeg, Canada—"Municipal Ownership in Winnipeg."

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

10 A. M.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH, New York—"Proper Methods of Financing the Acquisition of Public Utilities."

J. WELLER LONG, Secretary American Society of Equity—"Why the Farmer Needs Public Ownership."

R. B. HOWELL, Commissioner of Public Works of Omaha, Nebr.—"Municipal Water Works."

HON. R. F. PETTIGREW—"The Fight for National Forests."

CHARLES H. INGERSOLL, The Dollar Watch Man, New York—"The High Cost of Living and How to Meet It."

W. J. HANNAH, Big Timber, Montana—"Farm Credits for the Common Good."

2:30 P. M.

LOUIS WALLIS, Chicago—"Public Ownership, the Immediate Issue and the Common Ground for Social Reforms."

F. W. BALLARD—"Cleveland's Electric Light Plant."

FREDERIC C. HOWE—"Public Ownership Measures before Congress." (Not certain of attending).

HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE—"Public Ownership Movements in Illinois."

FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary of the National Labor—"Immediate Steps Towards the Postalization of the Telegraph and Telephone."

ANNA MALEY, Minneapolis—"Public Ownership and the High Cost of Living."

O. M. THOMASON, Lecturer for National Nonpartisan League—"The Public Ownership Movement in the Northwest."

7:30 P. M.

HOMER TALBOT, Secretary Kansas League of Municipalities—"Municipal Ownership in Kansas and the Southwest."

DANIEL W. HOAN, Mayor of Milwaukee—"The Failure of Regulation."

FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations—"Public Ownership and Industrial Conditions."

THOMAS H. MCCAULEY, Superintendent Municipal Railway, Calgary, Canada—"The Calgary Municipal Railway."

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

10 A. M.

CHARLES T. FARSON, Registrar Cook County—"The Torrens System of Land Title Registration."

CHARLES K. MOHLER, Secretary Public Ownership Committee, Los Angeles City Club—"Municipal Ownership in the Pacific Coast Cities."

VICTOR L. BERGER, Editor Milwaukee Leader—"Public Ownership and the High Cost of Living."

WALTER J. MILLARD—"Proportional Representation as a Means of Securing Democratic Control."

H. D. FLINT, Chicago—"The Mono-rail System of Railways."

HUGH REID—"The Struggle for Municipal Ownership of Street Car Lines in Chicago."

2:30 P. M.

C. W. KOINER—"The Pasadena Electric Light Plant and the Fight for Municipal Ownership in Southern California."

RAY MCKAIG, State Master North Dakota

Grange—"The National Grange and Public Utilities."

F. F. INGRAM, Detroit—"The Co-ordination of Water with Rail Transportation and a Rational System of Rate Making."

ROBERT BUCK—"The Hydro-Electric Light and Power Plant of Chicago—the Largest Municipal Plant in the States."

E. E. CARR—"Public Ownership of Mines."

JUDSON KING—"Popular Government necessary to Public Ownership."

7:30 P. M.

JOHN C. KENNEDY, member Chicago City Council—"The Chicago Municipal Water Works."

HON. DAVID J. LEWIS, U. S. Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.—"The Case for the Postalization of the Telegraph and Telephone."

S. J. KONENKAMP, International Secretary Commercial Telegraphers—on "Labor's Interest in Postalization."

HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Cincinnati—"The Outlook and Progress of Public Ownership in America."

IT would be a fine idea to send Brother "Jackie" at Great Lakes, or Cousin "Sammy" at Camp Grant a box of cigars for Christmas. Cigars are going up—not only in smoke but in price—and the sooner you buy the less they will cost. The Club sells cigars to its members by the box at less than retail and only a little above cost. All flavors!

See Judd at the desk—the sooner the better!

The City Club Bulletin

Published weekly by the City Club of Chicago

A Journal of Active Citizenship

VOLUME X

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1917

NUMBER 16

EVENTS THIS WEEK

WEDNESDAY LUNCHEON, PROF. ZUEBLIN.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF OUR RAILWAYS,
PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN OF BOSTON

Prime importance attaches to this subject on account of the drift of war experience. Luncheon from 11:30. Speaking at 1:00.

FRIDAY EVENING—PICTURE TALK

Members may bring Guests. Ladies Invited.

"TO THE SHINING MOUNTAINS AND THE SUNSET SEA"
GILBERT McCLURG, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

A pleasant jaunt through picturesque Montana, Washington, the Yellowstone and Mount Rainier National Park.

There will be the regular dinner service. This will be an opportunity for members to try the Club's new restaurant service described on the last page of the Bulletin.

Reservations for dinner should be made in advance.

Dinner for those wishing it, from 5:30 on. "Movies" and Slides at 8:00

Remember the Date, Friday, November 30—the day after Thanksgiving.

THE LISTENING POST

C. C. DAUGHADAY has been promoted from captain to major in the Illinois Reserve Militia. He is inspector-general for the First Brigade.

THE following persons joined the Club last week:

Walter T. Fisher, Attorney, Matz, Fisher & Boyden.

Frederick E. Earle, Northern Bank Note Co.

Arthur A. Ames, Ames & Filstead Co.

A PORTRAIT bust of the late Dr. Favill, formerly president of the City Club, is on display at the Anderson Galleries. It is by Kathleen Wheeler. The Chicago Evening Post says, "It is a strong piece of portraiture, a serious

likeness of the public-spirited physician, whose loss will ever be felt among those who knew him." Members of the City Club are invited to see it.

THE Club will be a riot in khaki and blue when the entertainment plan for soldiers and sailors is carried out. The Club will be open to them every Saturday and Sunday from 2:30 to 11:00 P. M., beginning December 8.

Club members ought to be on hand these days to give the boys the glad-hand and make them feel at home. The committee in charge wants the names of volunteers to help in this way once a month. Won't you send your name at once to Charles Yeomans, Secretary of the Club?

The committee also wants some "properties" in the form of games—playing

The City Club Bulletin

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CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court Telephone: Harrison 8278

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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Entry as second class matter applied for

cards, checkers, dominoes, etc.—popular magazines and records. The W. W. Kimball Co., has, with great generosity, loaned a Kimball phonograph, which will play any kind of record, and if you have any light, tuneful music to contribute (old records you are tired of) send it in.

A moderate amount of money is needed. Your check should be sent in as early as possible.

HAVE you seen the choice collection of "smokes" at the cigar counter? If not, ask "Mack" some day to show them to you. Big cigars, little cigars and cigarettes! Buy a Christmas box for a Sammie, at the desk! Discount to members.

CHARLES K. MOHLER blew into town the other day. Mr. Mohler left us several years ago and since then has been devoting his engineering talents to the improvement of transportation conditions in Los Angeles.

Mr. Mohler surprised his Chicago friends by bringing a wife.

WE hate to pat ourselves on the back, but—

Stephen T. Mather, Director of National Park Service, Washington, D. C., formerly vice-president of the City Club, writes:

"I want to congratulate you on the live character of the little publication which you are getting out. I find it

interesting reading, particularly as it keeps me up in a measure with City Club activities."

Delos F. Wilcox, public utility expert, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Franchise of the Public Service Commission for New York City writes:

"The material published in the Bulletin is of great value to one who desires to keep in touch with real civic progress."

"WITH industry a-humming during the whole of the year," says Eugene T. Lies, Superintendent of the United Charities in a review of the last year's work of the organization, "the average person might have expected that prosperity would have gilded over everybody with its magic wand and that therefore charitable agencies could lock their doors and throw away the key. But yet our organization was called upon to deal in one way or another with 11,669 families representing 52,011 human beings, the combined population of Bloomington and Elgin." In practically none of the families to whom relief was given were there able-bodied men.

"We are safe in asserting," says Mr. Lies, "that thousands of families in Chicago in which there is a man at work are at present living below the normal standard, because they are facing daily war prices with peace incomes. While many men are enjoying higher pay since the war began, there are more who are not, and in the families of the latter is where there is skimping on food and clothing, where there is moving from good quarters to poorer, where this winter there will be shivering and ill-shod and ill-clad children, where disease may later run rampant, where delinquency may find its culture ground, where hearts will grow sick and courage wane. Such families are on the edge of dependency and looking over. They are on the economic anxious seat, close to despair. Of them it may almost be said: 'They labor sore, but they gain nothing. They long to go forward, but they get nowhere.' They doubtless help to swell the ranks of the anti-war forces. Here is an argument for an adequate wage and for proper treatment of those who fall into distress, during the war period."

WAR SERVICE LIST

AMBULANCE SERVICE.

H. M. CONARD	MITCHELL DAWSON	C. J. PERFIT, Serg.
J. ARNOLD SCUDDER	L. E. THOMAS	

ARMY.

CLIFFORD ARRICK, Maj., Q.M.C.	P. JUNKERSFELD, Maj., Engr.	P. F. W. PECK, Adj.
A. K. ATKINSON, 2nd Lt., Q.M.C.	JAMES W. KNOX, 2nd Lt.	F. H. PERKINS, 2nd Lt., F.A.
C.	E. L. KOHLER, 2nd Lt., Q.M.C.	HAROLD E. POTTER, 2nd Lt.
WHEATON AUGUR, 1st Lt., 149 F.A.	PRESTON KUMLER, Capt.	N. H. PRITCHARD, 2nd Lt.
NORMAN L. BALDWIN, 2nd Lt., Inf.	LEON L. LEWIS	JOHN R. REILLY, 1st Lt., Q.M.C.
H. BAXTER, 333rd F.A.	E. R. LILLARD, Sergeant, F.A.	C.
D. J. BEATON, 2nd Lt., Q.M.C.	HIRAM K. LOOMIS	K. K. RICHARDSON, Corp.
MATHEW A. BEATON, JR., 1st Lt.	CARL D. LOOS, Serg., M.C.	WM. M. RUTTER, Capt.
HAROLD BENINGTON, Capt	NATHAN WM. MACCHESNEY, Major	J. ALDEN SEARS, 2nd Lt., Q.M.C.
C. B. BENJAMIN, 2nd Lt.	ROBERT T. MACK, Ordnance Dept.	C.
MORTON D. CAHN, 2nd Lt.	WILLIAM MACK, 2nd Lt.	A. A. SERCOMB
C. T. CHENERY, Capt., Engr.	A. E. MANHEIMER, S.R.C.	RALPH D. SHANESY
A. K. EDDY, 2nd Lt.	C. EDSON MANIERRE	P. M. SHEPHERD, Capt.
PALMER D. EDMUNDS, 1st Lt.	F. C. MASON, Corp., F.A.	JOHN F. SHERA, Lt.
JULIUS R. HALL, 1st Lt., Engr.	CARL D. MATZ, 1st Inf., Lt., S.C.	GEORGE D. SMITH
L. S. HARPOLE, 2nd Lt., F.A.	HUGH McCULLOCH, 2nd Lt.	ROBT. R. STAFFORD, Serg.
HAROLD R. HOWES, 1st Lt.	HENRY C. A. MEAD, 2nd Lt., F.A.	WM. S. TAUSSIG, Capt., Engr.
J. B. JACKSON, 1st Lt., Engr.	JOHN S. MILLER, Jr., Maj.	FRANCIS W. TAYLOR, Capt.
WM. H. A. JOHNSON, 2nd Lt.	NORRIS W. OWEN, 1st Lt., S.C.	ORVILLE TAYLOR, Jr., Capt.
GUY L. JONES, 1st Lt., F.A.	THOMAS W. WINSTON, Lt. Col.	WHITMAN TAYLOR, Q.M.C.
		HENRY F. TENNEY, Lt.
		GEORGE TURNER, Q.M.C.
		FRANK L. VENNING, Q.M.C.
		WALTER B. WOLF, 1st. Lt.

AVIATION.

J. CARLISLE BOLLENBACHER, Lt.	E. P. LIVINGSTON	T. W. OSBORNE
EMORY B. CURTIS	WM. P. McCracken, Jr.	GILBERT M. SMITH
HUGH W. EWING	CHARLES E. MERRIAM, Capt.	GALE WILLARD

MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS.

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JAMES A. BRITTON, 1st Lt.	DEAN D. LEWIS, Maj.	FRED C. TEST, Capt.
VERNON C. DAVID, Capt.	HARRY MOCK, Lt.	CLARENCE L. WHEATON, Maj.
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JOHN FAVILL, 1st Lt.	VICTOR H. SEARS, Lt.	CHAS. S. WILLIAMSON, Maj.

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A. H. BOETTCHER, Ensign	H. H. EVANS, Lt.	OGDEN T. McCLURG, Lt. Com.
EDWIN H. CLARK, Lt., J.G.	E. L. JOHNSON, Ensign	MALCOLM R. McNEILL, Lt. J.G.
	JOHN F. URIE, Surgeon	

RESERVE OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS.

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JOSEPH T. BOWEN, Jr.	ROBERT W. FERNALD	DUANE T. McNABB
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Please address any corrections or additions to this list to the Editor of the Bulletin.

NEGLECT OF IRISH PERILS ALLIES

Parliament Leader Tells of Britain's Mistakes on "Irish Front"

"Ireland has been one of the neglected 'fronts' of the war," said Richard Hazelton, M.P., in his address Saturday, November 17. Mr. Hazelton spoke in place of Hon. T. P. O'Connor, who had been called out of the city and whose address was for that reason postponed for a week.*

"The weakness of the western allies," said Mr. Hazelton, "has been on their so-called secondary fronts. It is probably not too much to say that if the Central Powers had not had their way in Serbia, in Roumania and on the other fronts which have been considered of secondary importance, the war would have been over. And one of these fronts, too much overlooked and neglected, has been Ireland.

Germany Makes Bad Guess.

"At the outbreak of the war Germany thought that Great Britain would be too much preoccupied with the impending civil war in Ireland to take part in any struggle on the continent. But immediately upon the declaration of war all domestic issues were put aside. The Home Rule bill was passed, but its operation suspended until the end of the war. Ireland rallied to the support of the Empire.

Britain's Blunders.

"At this time, the Sinn Fein movement was almost unknown in Ireland. But the bitter feelings of the Home Rule fight had left its traces and this bitterness was increased by what Lloyd-George himself has called the 'ineptitudes and malignities of the War Office,' in dealing with the Irish people. And then a serious mistake was made. Sir Edward Carson, who as the organizer of the Ulster rebellion, had declared that he would resist the government by force, was given a place in the coalition cabinet formed by Premier Asquith. For years the Irish people had been learning that

nothing was to be gained by violence, yet here apparently was an example of success attained through force. The people saw the operation of the home rule bill suspended, they saw the unionists in the cabinet, they were suffering from the 'ineptitudes' of the war office. These, with the added influence of German money and German propaganda—active in Ireland even before the war—resulted in the Dublin riots. These riots were of no national importance. They did not have the support of the people of Ireland. But England made another blunder. In spite of protests, fifteen of the leaders, some of them boys of not over nineteen, were executed, a few at a time, and a shock of horror went over Ireland. Ireland had seen no punishment meted out to the Ulster rebels and even saw Sir Edward Carson in the Cabinet. And now, where there was one Sinn Feiner before the executions, there were a thousand and German propaganda got a firmer foothold in Ireland.

Ireland's Crops in Danger.

"England now has to keep 50,000 troops in Ireland to keep down rebellion and to guard the crops. A destruction of the Irish crops would be a serious blow to the Allies. Last year Ireland put under new cultivation 700,000 acres of land as against 360,000 by England and 60,000 by Scotland.

"Since the Dublin riots there have been six bye-elections in Ireland and of these Sinn Fein won four. Seeing the danger the government made a sensible proposal. It called a convention representing all parties. That convention is now nearing the end of its labors and there is every indication that a settlement will be arrived at. If that occurs, I am confident that Sinn Fein will be beaten and that Ireland will come back as a tower of strength to the allies. If England will only put into practice in her dealings with Ireland the principles for which she is fighting in Belgium, she will have nothing to fear from Ireland."

*Mr. O'Connor's address last Saturday will be reported in next week's Bulletin.

MORE ABOUT MILK

New Light on Why We Pay Too Much For It

E

These Are Facts.

Two members of the staff of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station recently investigated milk delivery costs in six Massachusetts towns and found some very interesting things.* They found, for instance, that the cost of delivering milk is very closely related to the number of customers in each mile travelled by the milk wagon. They found that the four dealers whose delivery cost was under 1½¢ a quart, had 29.7 customers for each mile travelled, whereas the seven companies whose cost exceeded 3½¢ had only 19 customers per mile. One firm had an average of 68 per mile, another less than three. All of which suggests, of course, that short routes and heavy deliveries, such as a central delivery system would insure, would save money and allow a worthwhile reduction in the price of milk.

The investigators worked out some other interesting figures:

Wasted Work in Worcester.

In Worcester, it was found that the milk wagons of the town traveled about 2,250 miles a day to supply the houses on less than 220 miles of streets.

Between 3 o'clock and 7 o'clock one morning forty-two milk wagons were seen to pass down Bowdoin street, Worcester, and only one of these failed to deposit milk within 400 yards of the observer.

All this, of course, means waste, not only in man and horse labor, but in duplicate equipment.

"The final adequate solution of milk distribution," these expert investigators

conclude, "will come only through municipal delivery, or the organization of producing distributors. * * * The problem of milk distribution in large cities is difficult, but the organization of the small milkmen operating in one section of the city into a distributing agency would cure many ills and bring about cheaper delivery."

There have been a few experiments with central delivery systems in America. Such a system in Erie, Pa., operated by producers, is alleged to have increased the load per driver, shortened the routes and lessened delivery costs. Riverside, Calif., has had a co-operative pasteurization plant and delivery system since 1911. "For the purpose of delivery," wrote George R. Tucker, City Health Commissioner of Riverside, 1916, "but three wagons are used for the retail trade, whereas, formerly the same amount of milk from the same number of dairies would have required 15 wagons."

Some attempts at a central delivery system have been unsuccessful. This was the case with the Producers Creamery Co., at Topeka, Kansas. The failure of these attempts have been ascribed to the individualistic attitude of the "co-operating" members and their unwillingness to surrender competitive advantages.

Chicago Getting Busy.

Chicago apparently intends to tackle the problem of milk prices—and with it the system of milk deliveries—in a vigorous way. At a meeting of representatives of civic organizations several days ago a Milk Commission was organized, consisting of Dr. W. A. Evans, chairman, the Health Commissioner and the Chairman of the Health Committee of the City Council, ex officio, Mrs. Edward P. Welles, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. J. H. Kaufman, Mrs. G. W. Plummer, Miss Margaret Dobyne, and William B. Moulton. Mr. Moulton is chairman of the City Club War Time Committee, which has been taking an active interest in the question. One

*The Cost of Distributing Milk in Six Cities and Towns in Massachusetts. By Alexander E. Cance and Richard Hay Ferguson. Bulletin 173, Mass. Agricultural Experiment Station.

object of this commission is "to further a plan for a more economical distribution of milk to consumers."

Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, representing the United States Food Administration in Chicago, has also announced that a milk commission will be appointed by the Food Administration and that public hearings will be held in the near future.

The City Council Committee on Health has had a number of hearings on the subject and expects to bring in

a report shortly. The City Health Department has prepared a tentative ordinance for the districting of the city into delivery zones. The milk dealers are skeptical—particularly of the Health Department's plan—although one prominent dealer says that central delivery would be feasible if it could be brought about through a consolidation of companies. The business agent of the driver's union is for it, preferably under municipal ownership, and says that the union will not oppose it.

TRADE IN BABIES REVEALED

Babies are bought and sold in Chicago. The Juvenile Protective Association made this startling assertion recently and Miss Kate Adams, representing a morning newspaper, verified the charge last week by buying a baby for \$25.

The facts, alleged by the Association were brought out in a report by Arthur A. Guild, on "baby farms" in Chicago. A "baby farm" is a private "home" where children whom nobody wants, many of them of illegitimate birth are boarded. From these places, children are often disposed of for a price to people who want them. Mr. Guild investigated seventy-two such "farms" and found there 337 children living under conditions which were indescribably bad.

Over thirty per cent of these children had unmarried mothers. Nearly the same percentage were mentally or physically defective and many of them had parents who were diseased or were criminal.

Babies Die of Neglect.

The story of these "farms" reads like a chapter from Dickens. Fifty per cent of them are unfit for habitation. Many of the children have died without medical attention, because of the ignorance of the caretakers—some of them from neglect and starvation. Children with infectious diseases have been placed in beds with other children.

Conditions were somewhat improved by an ordinance passed several months ago by the City Council, but this relates only to conditions affecting health. They did not in any way affect the organized

traffic in children. An effort at the last legislature to secure the passage of a law, controlling the boarding and "placing out" of children, failed. Illinois has no law to prevent traffic in children, or which requires a person who accepts the permanent custody of a child to become legally responsible for its care.

Mr. Guild recommends the following legislation:

1. Boarding homes for children and the business of placing children out for permanent care should be licensed and supervised by the State Department of Public Welfare.

2. All children boarded with persons not related to them should be registered and visited at intervals by inspectors from the Department of Public Welfare.

Require Court's Consent.

3. No person should be allowed to dispose of his legal responsibility for a child without the consent of the Juvenile Court. No child should be adopted except through the machinery of the Juvenile Court, after a thorough investigation of the adopting family and a probationary period of six months, during which time inspections of the child's new home would be made by the State Department of Public Welfare.

"The passage of the laws recommended here," Mr. Guild concludes, "would, of course, entail increased expense to the state. But money spent on such preventive measures would mean an ultimate saving and a better citizenship."

AVIATORS' DARING DESCRIBED

Colonel Wildman Talks on Signal Corps

PEOPLE who thought of the Signal

Corps as a sort of "glorified weather bureau" got some new ideas at last Thursday's "Club Day" talk by Colonel Wildman, Chief Signal Officer of the Central Department. Colonel Wildman has known the inner history of the Signal Corps from the Spanish-American war to the present day. He was the first aeronautical engineer in the army and one of the pioneers in radio-telegraphy. A part of his address was about aviation.

"Fighting," said Colonel Wildman, "has changed a great deal since the days of David and Goliath, when men went out to meet the enemy singlehanded. But with aviation we seem to have rounded out the cycle and come back to a kind of fighting where men meet each other face to face." He told the story of the death of Immerman, the German aviator, who was killed in a fight between the lines to which he had been challenged by the English aviator, Ball.

Roosevelt's Fears Unfounded.

"We are spending in ten months \$640,000,000 for aeroplane construction—one-third more than it cost to build the Panama Canal. Many people were badly frightened when Colonel Roosevelt made the charge that we hadn't a single aeroplane capable of flying over the German lines. We are not trying at this time to build machines which we will use later over the German lines. We are standardizing parts and simplifying construction so far as possible, but we realize that the changes which are constantly being made in aeroplane construction would make any machine that we build now out of date by the time we would be ready to use it. What we are trying to do is to get enough machines to train the men who are to do the flying.

Going to School.

"Teaching the men to fly is really the easiest part of their training. A man can learn to fly in two weeks. It's the training afterwards that counts. We must have many different kinds of pilots, fighting pilots, bombing pilots, reconnaissance pilots and so on. After a man

has learned to fly he is sent to a gunnery school, where he practices from a swinging platform, then to a bombing school, then to a radio school and so on. If he fails to make good in one of these branches, he is not excluded from the service, but assigned to a place where he can do the work.

"Up in the Sky, Boys!"

"We used to court-martial any pilot who would try any fancy flying. But now we try to make a circus performer of every pilot. Nose spins, tail dives and loop-the-loops are a part of his education. When he is learning we send up with him an experienced pilot, whose duty it is to get control of the machine if anything should happen. If the new man has lost his nerve and refuses to let go, the old driver is instructed to take care of him with a billet. That sounds brutal, but the single life in war counts for nothing in comparison with a \$26,000 machine."

The duties of the Signal Corps, as defined by Congress, comprise "the collection and dissemination of the necessary information for the armies in the field." This gives no indication of the wide range of instruments employed by the Signal Corps in its work. "They embrace," said Colonel Wildman, "everything in the heavens above, or on the earth, or in the waters below the earth—aviation, deep sea cable work, wireless telegraphy and telephony, fire control of the field and coast artillery, communications of the mobile army in the field and a number of minor branches among which are the use of dogs and pigeons, cipher code work, etc."

Balloons.

Colonel Wildman told some very interesting facts about all these branches of the service. "Balloons," he said, "are for observation and fire control purposes. On the western front eight or ten balloons a week are lost. One observer told me that he has seen as many as five parachutes in the air at one time. Some important scientific problems have been solved in the balloon service. Because

of the necessity of using for other purposes the materials with which the hydrogen for the balloons had been manufactured, a new (electrolytic) method has been invented which releases oxygen as an important by-product.

Fire Control.

Fire control of the field and coast artillery is an important branch of the service. "The machinery in the coast service," Colonel Wildman said, "must be adjusted with the utmost delicacy.

The control of the guns must be under one man so that the fire of perhaps 150 guns can be concentrated at any given place at any given moment. It should also be realized that a high speed ship will have travelled perhaps a half mile by the time a projectile can reach it. The perfect co-ordination necessary can be brought about only through a perfect system of communication."

Colonel Wildman described briefly the other branches of the service.

MAKE YOURSELF "AT HOME"

THE House Committee wants you to know that there has been a change in the policy of the Club restaurant—that better food is being served, that the service has been made more attractive, and that prices are substantially as before.

The City Club was originally a noonday club. It was formed to provide a gathering place for men of congenial tastes and interests.

Later on, it came into increasing use for evening gatherings. And now many of our members bring their families and friends here for dinner in the grill.

But its greatest value to most of our members will always be that of a pleasant and restful place to take lunch.

To those members who do not lunch here regularly we wish to make this statement:

So far as we are aware, there is no public restaurant downtown where you can secure food so good—service so prompt and courteous—surroundings so quiet and pleasant—as in the City Club.

Every member of this club is cordially invited and urged to take lunch here regularly.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

The City Club Bulletin

Published weekly by the City Club of Chicago

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VOLUME X

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NEXT THURSDAY AT LUNCHEON

December 6—Save the Date

SPEAKER: E. DANA DURAND, Assistant Chief of the Meat Division, U. S. Food Administration.

SUBJECT: PRICE CONTROL BY THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION.

Dr. Durand is working out the problem of meat price control in Chicago. He was formerly director of the U. S. Census Bureau and Deputy Commissioner of Corporations. He is Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota.

Luncheon from 11:30

Speaking promptly at 1:00.

THE LISTENING POST

THE "office" had its annual Thanksgiving feed in 5-A last Wednesday. "Pa" Hooker presided at the turkey and carved such generous slabs from the bird that even the office-boy and the editor had their fill. There were nine in the family this year. The first of these events in which the editor functioned was in 1909, in the old place at 228 S. Clark street. Miss O'Malley, the stewardess, bossed the service and "Jim" McKinstry—our janitor, engineer, bell-boy, etc., etc.—participated in the eats.

NEXT Saturday the Club makes its bow to the soldiers and sailors of the United States and thereafter the boys from the nearby camps will have the "run" of the Club every Saturday and Sunday afternoon and evening from 2:30 to 11:00 p. m.

A dandy program is being worked out for the first evening. The Woman's

City Club has turned its attention for the moment from garbage reform and watching the aldermen, and is working out a vaudeville stunt that will insure the boys a jolly first visit to the Club.

The committee believes the opening of the club house will solve for many of the men on leave the problem of where to put in their spare time. The fellows that you have seen on the streets after a matinee, having a hard time to keep their hands out of their pockets—all dressed up and no place to go—will have a loafing place where they can find magazines and games and other soldiers. They will find a place where they can "doll up" before going out in the evening to a dinner or a dance. They will even be able to get light refreshments at cost—served by the Red Cross Canteen Service.

This undertaking is worth while and the members must make it go. Outside organizations, such as those mentioned, are helping to make the plan a success,

The City Club Bulletin

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but that is only an additional reason why members should pitch in and do their part. First of all, the committee wants the names of a certain number of men who will volunteer for service once a month on Saturday and Sunday afternoon and evening to meet the boys and see that they are properly steered around the Club. The more volunteers, the less frequently you will be needed. Charles Yeomans, the secretary of the committee (address the City Club) will take your name. There is also a place where you can sign up at the cashier's desk. A member of the committee will be in charge each day.

Next, games are wanted—playing cards, checkers, dominoes, “*et al.*” Records—light and tuneful ones, noisy stuff, even a moderate amount of “rag”—will be welcome.

The Soldiers and Sailors' Entertainment Committee which is in charge is made up as follows:

From the City Club of Chicago—Charles Yeomans, Chairman; E. F. Hiller, James J. Forstall, Morris L. Greeley, George Harvey Jones, Thomas W. Allinson, James P. Petrie, Fred G. Heuchling, Urban A. Lavery, James R. Ozanne, W. S. Monroe, and S. Bowles King.

From the Woman's City Club—Mrs. Frank C. Letts, Mrs. Howard Linn, Mrs. Clair More, Mrs. A. S. Peabody, Mrs. Joseph Ryerson, Mrs. E. V. Rumsey, Mrs. Harold F. White, and Mrs. Kenneth Rich.

THE Woman's City Club has 2,393 members and is trying for 3,000 by the end of next January.

THE far Northwest was pictured in slides and movies by Gilbert McClurg, last Friday evening. The audience listened and watched with pleasure. The travelogue was entitled, “To the Shining Mountains and the Sunset Sea.”

THE new war risk insurance for soldiers and sailors under the law recently enacted by Congress is meeting with an enthusiastic reception among the men. Already more than a billion dollars worth has been applied for in amounts averaging \$8,587. Over 120,000 applications have been received.

THE Woman's City Club has endorsed the city manager plan for Chicago as proposed by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency and has asked Governor Lowden to include the subject in his call for a special session of the legislature, should such a call be issued. Some of the reasons assigned for the endorsement are: (1) That the plan provides for non-partisan elections, for reducing the number of elections, for reducing the number of aldermen and permitting the recall of unsatisfactory aldermen; (2) that it provides for the election of the mayor by the city council; and (3) that it would make for greater simplification and efficiency in government.

TWEEDELUM and Tweedelde—the Illinois Municipal League and the League of Illinois Municipalities—are to meet at the University of Illinois Thursday and Friday of this week. They are to consider plans for consolidation. An interesting program of addresses, covering such subjects as municipal home rule, municipal war work, atmospheric sanitation, garbage incinerators, the sanitary district law, community morals, the city manager plan for Chicago, municipal accounting and street railway franchise in Illinois, has been arranged.

GEORGE C. SIKES and Harris Keeler returned a few days ago from Detroit, where they attended the National Conference on Good City Government. For a quarter of a century advocates of “better cities” have been getting together from all over the country once a year to trade experiences. Several organiza-

tions participated in the conference this year, but the big central sun around which all of them revolved was the National Municipal League. The League has for the last twenty-five years been the grandmother of municipal "reform" in the United States.

It is interesting to look back over the conference programs and to watch the new ideas swimming into view as our cities and our "reformers" have progressed. The city manager idea, for instance, and "public efficiency" as we understand it nowadays, have absorbed a lot of attention at the later meetings. At the conference this year these two ideas were each represented by a distinct organization, the City Managers' Association and the Association of Governmental Research Agencies.

The old programs of the League also reflect the wearv road that must be traveled to accomplish some things. Non-partisan municipal elections was a subject which bobbed up in the league in its early days and here it is with us yet! A good many cities already have non-partisan elections and some day perhaps Chicago will be lucky enough to have them herself.

Another topic before the conference was the city and county consolidation movement. The plan of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency for unification of local governments makes this subject one of the greatest importance to us.

The league doesn't know where it will meet next year, but it will probably be somewhere in the Middle West.

WHILE almost every nation at war has suffered terrible losses in man power, Italy is better off today in this respect than if the war had not occurred. The stoppage of emigration, says an Italian economist, Dr. Nitti, has kept at home about 1,000,000 men who would otherwise have left Italy for other lands. About 700,000 others returned to Italy when the war broke out. Italian casualties have been insignificant in comparison with this gain. Dr. Nitti predicts that Italian emigration after the war will be more particularly toward the devastated belligerent countries whose man power has been sapped than toward America.

MILK prices in Chicago continue to be a vital issue. The most important development of last week was the appointment of a milk commission by Mr. Harry Wheeler, representing the U. S. Food Administration here. The Commission, headed by Mr. John S. Miller, Jr., will hold public hearings, beginning today. It will go into the milk question as a whole, including the problem of deliveries, discussed in previous issues of the Bulletin.

The growing seriousness of the milk problem throughout the country is forcing upon many people the conclusion that the milk business must be treated as a public utility, subject to strict public regulation. This was the conclusion of the Tri-State Milk Commission, which reported recently to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. And the "Wick's Commission" in a report to the New York legislature says: "No person of understanding has ever studied this question without reaching the conclusion that the distribution of milk is a public service which, to be put upon an economic basis, requires public regulation to the end that all unnecessary services even of a competitive kind may be eliminated."

The Wick's Committee speaks in vigorous language about the wastes of competition in the milk business. "It is safe to assert," it says, "that the consumer in the city of New York pays several million dollars annually for the privilege of having all the numerous purveyors of this necessity engage in attempts to serve him."

There is little dispute as to the wastefulness of the present competitive arrangements. There is much disagreement as to the method of avoiding this waste. Some people advocate the Health Department's plan of a zoning of the city and the limitation of deliveries within any zone to a particular company. Others insist that the consumer should have an option between dealers and that a co-operative delivery system will solve the problem. Still others insist that delivery system cannot be successfully divorced from the rest of the business and that the only solution is a consolidation of companies. A fourth proposal is that the business should be municipalized.

RAIL WASTE COLLOSAL—ZUEBLIN

"Strategic Mobilization" Keynote to Rail Reform in War Crisis, Says Speaker

"**A**MERICA will be grossly culpable, if, in the hour of war against the most efficient nation on earth, she allows the mobilization of her resources to be obstructed by the mismanagement and wasteful operation of her railways," said Charles Zueblin, of Boston, last Wednesday. "Everybody has been impressed," he said, "by the wonderful accomplishments of the German railway system in the war. But German railway efficiency was developed before the war. It made no impression on us because we could handle a ton of freight more cheaply than she. We have been accustomed to judging things by the account book and not in terms of national strategy.

Rail Strategy Demanded

"Strategy, as the Germans know it, we do not know in this country. We do not teach it at West Point. Our railway men evince no knowledge of its fundamentals. It has been said that if our railway trunk lines had been built north and south instead of east and west, we would have had no civil war—and yet fifty years later we have no important north and south trunk lines. Galveston is one of the most important ports in the world and yet in traveling from Galveston to the east I was compelled to spend all night at Houston and then change at New Orleans and travel across town in a shaky old cab. We have no decent terminal facilities. We have no passenger trains running across the continent.

"Several years ago Brandeis shocked the railways of the country by insisting that by eliminating waste they would save a million dollars a day. They denied it at the time, but they have since practically accomplished that economy, and could probably save as much again if they would try."

Wastes Enormous

As a conspicuous instance of waste due to the persistence of competitive ideas in railway management, Prof.

Zueblin cited the building of the two great passenger terminals in New York City, at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars without any inter-connection, and as another instance, the forcing of all through trains entering Chicago into stub-end terminals in the heart of the city when transcontinental trains east and west could be run through Englewood with a saving of several hours in time. "There are twenty trains between Chicago and St. Paul," he said. We could take off two-thirds of them, rearrange the schedules of the remainder so they would leave at different hours and save a couple of million dollars a year. There is an immense loss in equipment and personnel through the maintenance of competitive down-town ticket offices. There are 4,000 towns in the United States which have more than one railway station. The needless duplication of stations and tracks means a loss of \$100,000,000 annually."

Terminals Badly Organized

These were but a few of the instances of lack of organization and waste cited by Mr. Zueblin. Terminal conditions, particularly, he said, are in need of reorganization. "The square mile of railroad property in Chicago, south of the loop," he said, "is one of the most fruitful bits of land for urban development in the country. We ought to have co-operation between the locality and the government in the planning of our large urban terminals."

Any dealing with our railway problem from the point of view of national strategy, rather than of competitive profits would mean, of course, the development to the fullest extent of the natural advantages of every community. The development of Pittsburg, Prof. Zueblin charged, has been deliberately throttled by "the best managed railway in the United States," and Detroit and Cleveland have been favored because of the existence of water competition.

Hard Sense Needed

"We need in the cabinet," concluded Prof. Zueblin, "a secretary of transportation, who should deal with the problems not only of steam railways, but of waterways, highways, trolleys, express companies, etc. So far, we have just been trifling with these problems. Cannot we mobilize the mind of America for a little strategic thinking. There is no doubt about the ultimate nationalization

of the railways. We are used now to thinking of huge expenditures, but will we never be far-visioned enough to know that we can spend money for the purposes of life as well as for those of death? If we are really serious about making the world safe for democracy, the bulk of the work must be done here at home, not simply in the munitions factories, but in the strategic mobilization of our entire resources."

O'CONNOR ATTACKS SINN FEIN

*Veteran Leader Insists Irish Must
Aid World's Battle Against Teuton*

"IRELAND has no right, even if she had the power, to purchase her liberty at the expense of the liberty of the world," said T. P. O'Connor, in an attack on the Sinn Fein movement delivered in the course of an address here Saturday, November 24th, before one of the largest crowds of the season. The "bolshewiki of Ireland" was the term which Mr. O'Connor applied to the Sinn Feiners. He charged that they are working hand in hand with Germany and are under the influence of her money. "The expenditure of funds by the Sinn Fein party," he said, "is something unprecedented in Irish politics."

England in Part to Blame

Mr. O'Connor did not minimize England's mistakes in Ireland or the part which those mistakes have played in building up Sinn Fein and pro-German feeling. Ireland showed her loyalty to the cause of the Allies by sending so many of her sons to the front. "Ireland had a perfect right," he said, "to resent England's treatment of her after the rebellion, but she has no right to imitate the Japanese of old by committing hari-kari on England's door step because she is insulted and wants England to feel bad.

"I have had my grievances with England. I have been fighting certain sections of English opinion all my life, and probably shall continue to fight them after the war, for England, like Germany, has her Junker class. But there is no

reason why the two countries should not work together and respect each other—even love each other. Ireland should know that the England today is a different England from that which persecuted her in the past. England is fighting for the rights of small nationalities. She comes to me today and says, 'T. P., you have always been fighting for small nationalities, come to my breast, my beaming boy, and we'll fight this fight together!'"

The Issue of the War

"There is," said Mr. O'Connor in discussing the issues of the war, "a fundamental natural law of diversity among nations. The Pole demands to be treated as a Pole, to be allowed to speak his language, cultivate his literature and develop his own institutions. The Prussian refuses to recognize this and demands that he give up these things and become a Prussian. And when the Pole refuses he backs up his demand with a machine gun. As a consequence, the Prussian finds the world against him and the result will be a justification of the right of every nation to determine its own life."

Mr. O'Connor backed up restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. "It would be a shame," he said, "if we should sheathe the sword before the soil of Alsace-Lorraine is restored to its rightful owner. I was a young journalist at the time when France was deprived of this territory, and I declared then that

this was not only a crime against humanity, but a blunder as well—a cancer in the heart of Europe, which would corrode and spread. But Germany stuck to its false doctrine that she could destroy the natural diversity of peoples and press them into the German mold.”

British vs. German Soldier

Mr. O'Connor contrasted the German soldier with the soldiers of the British Empire. “In our armies,” he said,

“every man retains his spirit of self-reliance and initiative. The German soldiers seem to require close companionship and the close supervision of officers. Under a democracy, where every man has a right to oppose the policy of his country, we have an army of freeman. Under an autocracy, the men become unintelligent serfs. When the final test comes, I rely on the army with the democratic spirit to win.”

SOUTH WATER STREET PLAN IS TOPIC

A GLORIFIED South Water st., was pictured to the City Planning Committee last Monday by Henry A. Goetz, engineer for the City Plan Commission. Mr. Goetz with Mr. E. H. Bennett made the studies for the proposed double-decking of South Water street, advocated by the Plan Commission.

Mr. Goetz proposes that South Water street markets with their daily jam of vehicles be lifted bodily away from the loop and deposited somewhere outside. This proposal has been made many times before and there have been various suggestions as to the location of the new market district, but Mr. Goetz doesn't undertake to decide between them. He is convinced that the district must ultimately be moved for the reasons, as stated in the Commission's report, that “South Water street today is an economic waste; a burdensome charge on the people; a drawback to Chicago's progress; to its property; and a conflagration danger to the whole loop district.”

Great Traffic Street Proposed

South Water street, then, as we know it, is to become a thing of the past, and in its place, Mr. Goetz advises us to build a great double traffic artery connecting with the Michigan avenue improvement—the upper level for lighter, the lower level for heavier traffic and freight. The city would buy all the buildings on the north side of the present street and wipe them out, thus providing a wider street and one with a water frontage. South Water street, as thus transfigured, would, in the opinion of backers of the

plan, be an artery second only in importance to Michigan avenue itself.

Mr. Goetz says that the improvement—estimated to cost about \$5,000,000—will pay for itself in a year by saving in foodstuffs, in the cost of handling foodstuffs, in elimination of traffic congestion and delays, etc. A critic of the plan suggests that the bulk of this saving would be accomplished by the removal of the South Water street merchants and that the double-deck street arrangement, while perhaps desirable, is a separate proposition to be considered on its own merits. It would be interesting to know to what extent the economies predicted are bound up with the structural proposals of the plan.

Where Will Money Come From?

The question of how the plan shall be financed is not dealt with directly, although the suggestion that the improvement will be highly beneficial to abutting property suggests that the Commission has in mind that at least a share of the cost may be met by special assessment.

Seventeen arguments are advanced for the plan in a 55-page illustrated book issued by the Plan Commission. We recommend that you get a copy of the book and study the plan as outlined in detail with supporting data. It can be had on request by addressing the Chicago Plan Commission, Hotel Sherman.

THE editor enjoys brick-bats—of a sort. Kicks about the Bulletin, if politely delivered, will be received as graciously as bouquets.

BILLBOARD CASE TO FRONT

*Everett L. Millard Tells of Ups and Downs
in Securing Enforcement of Ordinance*

The billboard at Sheridan road and Grace street perhaps wouldn't be worth several years of wrangling and a trip to the United States Supreme Court if its maintenance in defiance of a city ordinance didn't involve principles and precedents of the utmost importance to Chicago.

Mr. Millard, as chairman of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club, has been in the thick of the billboard fight ever since the ordinance was passed and his criticism of the attitude of city officials as to its enforcement in this case is founded on an intimate knowledge of the facts.

THE big billboard at the intersection of Sheridan road and Grace street is flagrant as an unnecessary obstruction to one of the most beautiful and important lake views in Chicago, and as an example of the city government's long continued failure to protect the rights of the public and of property owners. This particular billboard has been standing without legal authority, in the opinion of the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club, for six years, during which time the city could have torn it down many times, and can today. The recent action of Assistant Corporation Counsel Cleveland, in deciding that the frontage consent petition for the board was valid, and in refusing to advise the Building Commissioner as to his power to require verification of signatures, simply amounts to tearing the frontage consent provision from the Code book, and throwing it into the waste basket.

Goes to Supreme Court

After the Municipal Art League and the Municipal Art Committee of the City Club secured the passage of the existing progressive ordinance in 1911, we struggled for two years with former Building Commissioner Erickson, before we could get him to throw out the frontage consent petition for this board, which was on its face entirely insufficient. The Cusack Company was then forced to go into court to attack the validity of the ordinance. After going through the Illinois courts, ably fought for the city by former Assistant Corporation Counsel Loring C. Hoover, the case was decided

by the United States Supreme Court squarely in favor of the city, upholding the right to require frontage consents in residence districts, and even to prohibit boards in those localities.

The billboard company, according to the statement of the Building Department, then took the old invalid petition, and attached a supplemental petition, prima facie showing enough frontage, if the block is defined as they claim. The non-assenting property owners in the block have attacked this curious mixture of documents, and shown by the testimony of one owner, whose frontage was necessary to a majority, that her name was signed by an agent who had no authority.

City Refuses to Act

The agent himself states that he did so without authority, under a promise by the company representative that within ten days he would substitute for it a consent by another owner. Mr. Cleveland holds that this amounts to a perfectly good signature for the owner. He also holds that the original petition signed several years ago, can be validated by a supplemental petition signed this year, regardless of subsequent transfers of ownership by original signers. The city officials refuse to verify signatures by agents, by requiring production of powers of attorney, on the ground that it involves too much work, with the result that any petitions presented are accepted at their face value. They also refuse to consider our interpretation of the ordinance, to the effect that it re-

quires frontage consents for all boards, whether built before 1911 or since. We think it applies to the old boards, but if there is any doubt, we feel it should be resolved in favor of the city. We find that according to the contention of the billboard companies, almost all boards were built before 1911, and so are not under the requirements of frontage consents.

The Corporation Counsel's office since

THE popular "chamber music" concert which was to have been held at Fullerton Hall next Wednesday, has been postponed.

NO one has ever computed the annual waste of a nation of a hundred million people, richly endowed with natural resources and accustomed through generations to the prodigal use of those resources. But that the value of only a fraction of what may be saved through economy is tremendous cannot be doubted. But economy includes more than mere saving. It includes standardization of products, from shoes to ships, recovery of by-products, adaptation of substitute materials, elimination of wasted or duplicated effort arising from needless competition, invention and adoption of labor-saving devices, intensive cultivation of the soil, reforestation—in short, efficiency. The practice of these will repay the cost of the war tenfold.—*National Bank of the Republic, November, 1917.*

IT is estimated that one and one quarter million persons in the United States who have reached the age of 65 are in want and are supported by charity, public and private. This means that 28 per cent, or, in other words, more than one out of every four are dependent upon public and private charity. In Massachusetts, where an excellent census was recently completed (1915), it was found that close to 35,000 persons out of a total of 190,000 were the recipients of public or private relief. This constitutes 18.2 per cent of the total population 65 years and over, but does not include a very large number who received assistance or maintenance from relatives and other unregistered sources.—Louis I. Dublin, *The Vital Statistics of Old Age.*

the Supreme Court decision, has decided with unfailing regularity every contention of opponents in favor of the billboard companies, and looks upon objectors with severity. The protesting property owners in the block, who say they feel that it is of no use to apply to the city departments any more, will be doing a public service if they go into court and mandamus the Building Commissioner to revoke the permit.

"S. S. U. 13 NO. 40" is the number of the field ambulance donated by members of the Club. Word has just arrived that the car went into service in France in the week of October 22nd. The following letter from its driver, Rembert C. Anderson, has just been received:

France, War Zone
November, 9, 1917.

Dear Sirs:

It will probably interest you to know that the Ford ambulance that was donated by your club to France through the American Field Service has been given to me to drive. I came over in September and was sent out to Section 13. Soon after I joined the section, new cars were sent out, so that ambulance No. 40 and myself are starting our war careers at about the same time.

Very sincerely yours,

REMBERT C. ANDERSON,
S. S. U. 13, Convois Automobiles.

THE Club office had a pleasant visit last week from Joseph Hudnut, with whom many of our members became acquainted several years ago, while he was engaged on the preparation of some neighborhood center plans for the Club. Mr. Hudnut's architectural practice is in New York, but for several weeks he has been engaged on some special city planning and sub-division work with Werner Hegeman, the well-known city planner, at Milwaukee.

SOME of the waitresses who heard Father deVillie's talk on the condition of the Belgian people were so impressed with his story, that they raised some money among themselves to aid the fund for Belgian children. The money has been turned over to the treasurer of the Chicago Belgian Relief Committee, Mr. W. J. Chalmers, 72 W. Adams street.

2496

For. Sec.

The City Club Bulletin

Published weekly by the City Club of Chicago

A Journal of Active Citizenship

VOLUME X

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1917

NUMBER 18

"CLUB" LUNCHEON—NEXT THURSDAY

December 13—Speaking at 1:00

SUBJECT: SOCIAL HYGIENE IN WARTIME—
What is Being Done in Europe and America to Protect
the Health and Morals of Our Soldiers and Sailors.

SPEAKER: DR. RACHEL YARROS, Chairman Health
and Recreation Section, Woman's Committee, Illinois
Division, Council of National Defense.

THE LISTENING POST

THE Club is glad to welcome as members Richard A. Pick, of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and Charles Wouters of Wouters' Laundry.

GEORGE C. SIKES went to the convention of the Illinois Municipal League at Urbana, last week, to explain the plan of the Bureau of Efficiency for a city manager for Chicago.

IT will be easier to find your way around the club house, now that the House Committee has numbered and labeled all the committee rooms. The new signs, which have been put at the entrances to these rooms are conspicuous and very attractively lettered.

HARRY C. JOHNSON and C. W. C. Chandler have been appointed to fill vacancies on the Admissions Committee.

THE military list of the Club grows longer from day to day. Since the last list was published the following names have been added: A. J. Carlson, captain, Sanitary Corps; O. A. Postelwait, second lieutenant, F. A.; and A. G. Rubovits, sergeant.

Since that list was printed the Club members in training at Fort Sheridan have, with very few exceptions, received commissions. Their ranks are as follows:

MAJOR.		CAPTAIN.	
A. A. Sprague, II.		Harold Lockett.	
FIRST LIEUTENANT.			
Victor R. Anderson	Robert W. Fernald		
Joseph T. Bowen, Jr.	Paul V. Harper		
John S. Broeksmit	Downer McCord		
Arthur W. Burnham	James W. Northrop		
Roger B. Faherty	Donald McWilliams		
Lester L. Falk	Ralph D. Shanesy		
SECOND LIEUTENANT.			
Erle O. Blair	H. S. Marsh		
Wilbur L. Buchanan	M. G. Simonds		
Benjamin J. Dubin	Ralph M. Snyder		
Gordon R. Hall	Beverly B. Vedder		

The City Club Bulletin

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE

CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court Telephone: Harrison 8278

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Entry as second class matter applied for

A BOX for Bulletin "bits" has been placed on the cashier's counter. Do your bit by putting one in the box. Personal items, suggestions, kicks—anything you want to get to the editor's notice—thankfully received.

WE are glad to welcome back the London *Nation* to the reading room. For a time it was not allowed to circulate outside the British Isles.

WHY not make this a sociable Club? When you come here for lunch, don't go off in a corner, but mix in with some of the other fellows.

DID the guest whom you brought to the Club the other day enjoy his visit? Maybe he would like to be a member.

DOCTORS IN ARMY WORK

A LARGE number of medical men in the Club have volunteered for army service and are serving in important places. The latest information regarding them is as follows:

Dr. L. W. Bremmerman is a captain and is head of the ambulance companies stationed at Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Dr. James A. Britton, first lieutenant, is at Camp Sheridan, Montgomery, Alabama.

Dr. Vernon C. David, has a captain's commission. He is on duty in the base hospital at Fort Logan, Colo.

Captain Frederick R. Green is at the Medical Officers' Training Camp at Fort Riley.

Major Dean D. Lewis is head of the School of Neurologic and Brain Surgery for Medical Officers now being conducted in the Presbyterian Hospital, Chicago.

Dr. Harry E. Mock is a major, and is on duty in the Surgeon-General's Office at Washington, D. C., in connection with the construction of hospitals for reconstructive surgery.

Captain Frederick Test is acting as orthopedic surgeon at Fort Des Moines, Iowa.

Major William H. Wilder is in charge of the Section on Ophthalmology in the post hospital at Camp Taylor, Kv.

Major Charles S. Williamson is on active duty at Fort Riley, Kansas.

Major Frank Billings has been assigned to active duty as advisor to Governor Lowden in the creation of the medical advisory boards for the State of Illinois in connection with the next draft.

Dr. Frank S. Churchill has been commissioned major, but has not yet been assigned to active duty.

Dr. R. C. Hamill has acted as contract surgeon in the making of special neurologic examinations.

Dr. Norval H. Pierce is a major, and is on active duty in the Section of Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat at Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.

Dr. B. M. Linnel is a major and surgeon of the 11th Illinois National Guard, recently organized.

Among others, the following hold commissions in the Medical Reserve Corps, but are not on active duty: Arthur Dean Bevan, Alexander R. Craig, Morris Fishbein, Julius H. Hess and George H. Simmons.

CLUB STARTS MILK QUERY

Inaugurates Expert Study of Delivery Question with View to Price Reduction

THE City Club last week buckled on its harness for a study of the milk question. The issue at stake, the possibility of reducing milk prices through the cutting out of competitive deliveries, has been set forth in several previous numbers of the Bulletin. The investigation is in charge of a special sub-committee of the War Time Committee. This sub-committee is being assisted by experts and the investigation will be as complete as the limited time at its disposal will allow. It is the expectation that its results will be presented to the Chicago Milk Commission appointed by the United States Food Administration and now holding public hearings.

Delivery Economies Object of Study

The hearings last week before the commission seemed to indicate that it is doubtful if any considerable reduction in the cost of milk can be expected through a reduction of producers' prices. Many producers, it is alleged, are already on the point of turning their capital to more profitable lines of employment and a reduction in price might have the unfortunate consequence of cutting down the supply of milk. In any case, the inefficiencies of the competitive distribution system offer such distinct and obvious opportunities for economy that the Club's investigation will be centered on that part of the milk problem.

Another interesting development last week was the issuance of a report on this subject by the Health Committee of the City Council. The report emphatically condemns the wastefulness of independent deliveries and urges upon the Milk Commission the inauguration of a central delivery system under a grant of franchise or otherwise. Legislation conferring upon municipalities enlarged powers over foodstuffs, including the right to engage in supply and distribution, was also a recommendation of the report.

Postal Deliveries Centralized

The report draws an interesting analogy, to illustrate the wastefulness of

competitive deliveries. "By way of contrast," it says, "one has but to instance the mail distributing system employed by the federal post office department. Here one mail carrier delivers mail to all residents in the neighborhood to which he is assigned with promptitude and regularity and without duplication or overlapping of any sort whatever. It would be ridiculous to imagine three or four carriers delivering mail in one street at different times of the day to the same people residing there. However, this absurdity is a common occurrence in the distribution of milk and other food products."

CHRISTMAS IS COMING!

Glad Tidings for Smokers

The Cigar Department of the Club announces the arrival of a complete line of imported and clear Havana cigars for the holidays—10, 25 and 50 in a box.

Do you have a friend at Rockford? He will appreciate a box for Christmas.

Last year was the banner year in the Cigar Department and a large number of the members saved from 50c to \$1.00 a box by purchasing their Christmas cigars here at the reduced rates to members. Similar reductions hold good this year.

The assortment is large and brands not carried in stock can be obtained on short notice. Those wishing to send cigars by mail or express can leave their orders and the packing and shipping will be attended to here. Telephone orders will be accepted.

Leave a list of your cigar wants with McCarty—now—and he will do the rest.

WHY IS A CITY CLUB?

WHY, indeed? But first what is a City Club and wherein is it different from a Union League club or an athletic club or a commerce association?

City Clubs came into existence with the organization of the New York City Club in 1892. It was eleven years before any other city followed suit. In 1903, the City Club of Chicago, was formed, and since then city clubs have sprung up all over the country—from Berkeley to Boston. In an article in the current number of the *American City*, eighteen of them are listed. They exist in cities from the size of New Rochelle up—but most of them, of course, are in the big centers. The other day a resident of Winnipeg visited us and collected our literature with a view to the possible organization of a City Club in that city.

Two Pictures

But to go back to our original question: What are we here for? Some city clubs from the outside may seem to be merely lunch places where agreeable gentlemen get together once a day for a good dinner and a little polite conversation. Others, again to the outsider, apparently imagine themselves as engines of reform, blasting the wicked in high places and paving the way for a great civic millennium. Both pictures testify to the imagination—or lack of imagination—of the observer, but there is a sense in which both have a measure of truth.

Perhaps the most apt definition of a "City Club" is that which the City Club of Cleveland prints on the first page of its Bulletin—"A Social Club with a Civic Purpose." It is in this sense that it differs from a "reform organization" of the ordinary type or a commercial association on one hand and from a purely social club on the other. The Boston City Club—the greatest in membership—does no concrete public work, but feels that it fulfills its civic purpose by assembling the men of its city, who are interested in public affairs, in a great democratic organization for social intercourse and an exchange of ideas and points of view.

Other organizations, like the City Club of Chicago, feel the need of greater militancy and a concrete dealing with affairs. But even among the latter, the foundation of all the work is the co-operation brought about by friendly intercourse, by the contact which comes from a rubbing of shoulders by men of different opinions and points of view, by the frank interchange of ideas among men whose one point in common, perhaps, is devotion to the public interest.

Club Spirit Necessary Factor

What a City Club needs, then, to make it a *real City Club* and to distinguish it from the ordinary type of "reform organization" is a *distinctive Club spirit*—founded on the everyday virtues of friendliness and co-operation. There is nothing in the idea of a City Club which is "highbrow." The social features of the Club—the lunch hour, the after-dinner chat in the smoking room, the friendly game of billiards—all sought for their own sake, are legitimate features of a City Club which contribute in a real sense to its more serious purposes.

What does this mean? It means that the members will do their bit for the Club by using it to its utmost ability to serve them, by introducing as guests and members men who are sympathetic with its purposes, by patronizing the Club's dining room and by cultivating friendly relationships with the men they meet there, by entering so far as possible into the public work of the Club, by aiding in every way to maintain on the one hand democratic standards of social intercourse and on the other efficient and intelligent standards of public service.

"WAR BREAD" is the subject to be discussed at a meeting of the Chicago section of the American Chemical Society Friday. This meeting will be at the City Club at 8 o'clock. The discussion, as announced, will cover such points as wheat shortage, the milling of wheat, substitutes for wheat, saving of flour through better baking methods and allied topics. An invitation to attend has been extended to members of the Club.

GOVERNMENT CUTS PROFITS

Plans to Reduce Meat Cost by Limiting Earnings of Packers, Says U. S. Meat Expert

"MONKEYING with prices is like monkeying with a buzz saw," said E. Dana Durand in his address last Thursday. Mr. Durand is assistant chief of the Meat Division of the Food Administration, stationed in Chicago and has been handling the buzz saw himself—so he knows. He has been working on the problem of meat prices and his address, in part, had to do with the regulation of the profits of the packers. Mr. Durand is professor of economics at the University of Minnesota. He was formerly director of the U. S. Census.

Price-Control on a New Plan.

"The government is trying a new plan of price regulation in the meat industry," said Mr. Durand. "Instead of limiting the packers' prices as it has limited the prices of some other commodities, it has restricted the profits of the various companies to a uniform level, 9 percent, slightly in excess of those which they could earn in normal peace times."

Ordinary price regulation, Mr. Durand explained, has certain drawbacks. "If there is a considerable variation," he said, "in the cost of producing an article of necessity, such as wheat or copper, a price must be allowed which will permit the most inefficient producer or the producer working with the most inefficient resources, or the producer moving his capital into a new industry, to secure a return sufficient to guarantee that he will continue in the industry. Such a price, however, tends to allow enormous profits to the producers who are more advantageously situated. One way to restrict the earnings of these companies is through an excess profits tax, but this remedy is inadequate because these taxes are simply collected from the consumer and ultimately fall upon the poor rather than the rich."

"The regulation of profits instead of prices, holds earnings down to a uniform level. It does, however, mean a variation in prices. If one plant can do the work at less cost, it must lower its price.

In the meat industry, packing costs represent so small a part of the retail cost that this price variation would make very little difference to the consumer. In other industries, however, the difficulties on this account may be very great. If the profits of copper mines, for instance, were limited to a uniform amount, the variation in prices would be so great that the companies which operate most advantageously would be swamped with orders and the others would find it difficult to get a market."

Government Buying Is Solution

"There are only two ways," Mr. Durand said, "in which this difficulty can be met in the case of such an industry as copper mining. First, the government may, by proper regulations, provide that the consumers most in need may buy at the lowest price and that others will have to pay the higher prices. Or, second, the government may buy the product and re-sell it to the consumers at a fixed price, or accomplish the same result through the formation of a pool among the producers. This seems to me the only practicable solution of the problem. It seems radical, but we do many radical things in war time. Great Britain, France and Italy buy practically all their meat from this country and re-sell it to their people. It seems to me the government would be justified in establishing a uniform profit for the production of coal, copper and the principal grades of steel and in buying those products for re-sale at a uniform price. It is the only alternative to the plan of the fixing of maximum prices and the taxation of excess profits—which has the objection to which I have already referred."

"The policy which should control in the regulation of prices and profits," Mr. Durand concluded, "is that the price of war materials and of the necessities of life ought to represent only a fair normal profit, substantially the pre-war profit, with such modifications as may be necessary to maintain production at the necessary level."

CLUB WAR COLONY AT CAPITAL

THERE is a large colony of Club members in Washington—most of them in government service and doing big things:

Cecil Barnes is with the Food Administration.

Harold Benington is head of Accounting Department of the Construction Division of the Signal Corps.

Arthur H. Boettcher is an ensign in the Naval Reserve Flying Corps, U. S. N. R. F.

E. L. Burchard, is helping the Food Administration with propaganda through community centers. He is also editing *The Community Center*, the official monthly publication of the National Community Center Conference.

Avery Coonley is the Christian Science Committee on Publication for the District of Columbia.

R. T. Crane, 3rd, is in the State Department.

John M. Curran is with the Commercial Economy Board, Council of National Defense.

Fred A. Delano is a member of the Federal Reserve Board.

William B. Hale is with the Council of National Defense. Until recently he was a member of the Public Affairs Committee of the Club.

Charles T. Hallinan is with Senator LaFollette.

Albert L. Hopkins is with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Major Peter Junkersfeld is Supervising Constructing Quarter Master in the Cantonment Division, Q.M.C.

Judge Julian W. Mack, of the United States Circuit Court, is chairman of the sub-committee on compensation for enlisted men of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Council of National Defense. He drew the new Soldier's and Sailor's Insurance Act. He was for four years a member of the Board of Directors of the City Club.

Louis W. Mack, formerly secretary of the Club's Civil Service Committee, is directing the work of 150 men in the Division of Films.

Stephen T. Mather, formerly Vice-

President of the Club, is at the head of all the national parks of the United States. His title is "Director of National Park Service," and he is under the Secretary of the Interior.

Dr. Harry E. Mock is in the Surgeon General's office. His work has to do with the reconstruction and re-education of the crippled. He has a major's commission.

George F. Porter is Chief of the Section on Co-operation with States, Council of National Defense.

Louis F. Post is Assistant Secretary of Labor. Immigration isn't heavy just now, but such of it as there is is supervised by Mr. Post. Mr. Post before he left for Washington was a member of the Club Committee on Public Expenditures.

Julius Rosenwald, formerly a director of the Club, is a member of the Advisory Council of National Defense and a big cog in the war machine.

Elliott Dunlap Smith is with the Council of National Defense.

Carl Vrooman is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

Do you know of any others?

The editor would like to have their names.

AMONG the out of town visitors who registered at the Club last week, as guests of members, were:

C. D. Wood, Cleveland, Ohio.

J. A. Power, Grand Rapids.

F. R. Bryant, Princeton, Ill.

H. W. Jenisch, Cincinnati.

J. J. Brooks, Jr., Pittsburg.

E. T. Dakin, Washington, D. C.

R. F. Ruth, Russell, Kansas.

Art Spriggs, Rome, N. Y.

E. V. Wilson, Peoria, Ill.

E. A. Field, Winnipeg, Man.

J. V. Tolling, New York.

Lieut. W. M. Welby, Chillicothe, Ohio.

A. W. Thomas, Cleveland, Ohio.

George Frederick, New York.

H. N. Rasely, Worcester, Mass.

James Garrett, Minneapolis, Minn.

O. F. Stein, New York.

F. M. White, Madison, Wis.

Ted Hale, Cleveland, Ohio.

SCHOOL SURVEY PLAN ADOPTED

*Committee's Efforts, Backed by Study,
Result in School Efficiency Bureau*

ABOUT a year and a half ago, the Public Education Committee, Prof. Frank M. Leavitt, Chairman, appointed a sub-committee to undertake the task of getting the Board of Education to install a Bureau of Educational Survey and School Standards, such as nine other large cities were operating. The sub-committee last week reported success in their endeavors to bring this about. The members of the sub-committee are Edward Yeomans, Chairman, E. E. Olp, George H. Mead, and J. L. Smith. Henry E. Legler, late librarian of the Chicago Public Library, was also a member.

School Efficiency the Aim

The purpose of the bureau advocated by the committee and now established, is to gather the "vital statistics" of school administration such as those relating to retardation, promotional rate, truancy, over-age, failures in each subject of study, standardized tests in each subject, salaries of teachers, etc. It was the idea that Chicago schools should be compared in these respects with each other and with schools in other cities as a means of promoting their great efficiency.

In preparing its case for the School Board, the sub-committee employed an expert in school statistics, Mr. E. A. Wreidt, who has since been appointed assistant director of the Illinois State Department of Registration and Education. Mr. Wreidt had previously made for the committee the investigation of vocational education, embodied in the committee's report on that subject, published in 1912. Mr. Wreidt's salary and expenses were contributed by forty-six members of the Club.

Wreidt Makes Study

In order to impress the school administration with the indispensability of the work recommended by the committee in an intelligently operated school system, Mr. Wreidt made a careful survey of certain features of the school system of Chicago. The subscribers to the expense

of Mr. Wreidt's study will be particularly interested to know:

First, that his highly interesting and thorough report accompanied by 60 charts, showed very conclusively the immense value to the school administration of having its records—otherwise comparatively useless—scrutinized and interpreted and also the necessity for more and better-kept records.

Second, that this report and the recommendation that the School Board create a department for this sort of work, under the superintendent—the work to be done by expert statisticians—were placed in the hands of the Board of Education, and of Mr. Shoop, the superintendent. It was made clear that while the City Club had instituted and paid for this work and had collected very valuable information regarding affairs in the public school system, it was not part of the Club's program to publish this report, provided the School Board established, under competent leadership, the bureau recommended by the committee.

Plan Adopted by Board

Third, that Superintendent Shoop advised the establishment of the bureau, that the School Board concurred and that such a bureau is now in operation under the direction of Mr. S. B. Allison, assistant superintendent of schools.

The sub-committee in its report says that the object of the Public Education Committee would seem now to be attained, provided the amount of money allowed Mr. Allison and the ability of the assistance secured by him justifies the hope that the job will be thoroughly done, in an entirely disinterested manner and with sufficient speed to give the conclusions an immediate value. The committee will keep itself informed as to progress being made and has Mr. Allison's assurances that he will welcome any suggestions and assistance and any stimulus which the committee can give toward the complete accomplishment of every function which his department should perform."

THE Club will be open to soldiers and sailors, as previously announced, every Saturday and Sunday from 2:30 to 11:00 P. M. The only badge of admittance required is a uniform. The committee believes that the Club can be of real service in keeping its house open in this way—at least to fill in the gap until the new club house for the use of soldiers and sailors, announced last week, is ready.

The committee does not yet have enough games, light reading matter or *phonograph records* for the entertainment of soldier and sailor guests of the Club. It needs also particularly *volunteers to serve* once every four or five weeks in receiving the men and helping to make them feel at home. If you can't help in any other way, the committee would be glad to have you send a check.

A CHANGE

If you haven't dined at the City Club during the last two or three weeks, you owe yourself a good dinner or luncheon.

There has been a change in the policy and the food of the Club's dining room and grill hall.

Better food, tastier dishes, more variety of delicious, well-cooked treats.

Come this week and bring your best appetite along.

Come and bring your friend for luncheon, your family for evening dinner.

Don't judge the new menus by any past performance. For instance, this week we have a delicious, juicy, richly flavored, thoroughly cooked—

the writer of this got to thinking so strongly of the appetizing treat he had at the City Club yesterday that he dropped his pen to find a plate in the dining room at once.

The City Club Bulletin

Published weekly by the City Club of Chicago

A Journal of Active Citizenship

VOLUME X

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1917

NUMBER 19



"GANG'S ALL HERE"—FIRST CITY CLUB "OPEN HOUSE," SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1917.

"CLUB DAY"—WAR SAVINGS RALLY

Thursday, December 20—at luncheon

GREAT LAKES NAVAL BAND (46 pieces)

SPEAKERS: PROF. ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN
and a representative of the British Recruiting Mission.

Concert 12:30 to 1:00

Speaking 1:00 to 1:30

A HOLIDAY WEEK EVENT

LADIES' NIGHT—Thursday, December 27, at 8:00.

"ALL AROUND NEW ENGLAND"—A pictorial lecture by MR.
E. S. JONES of Boston—Slides and Moving Pictures.

Mr. Jones tells us that he has been photographing New England for twenty-five years, that he has climbed its mountains, sailed its lakes and cruised along its shores, hunted in its woods and fished its streams.

Regular evening service in the dining room. Those who desire dinner, will please make advance reservations.

The City Club Bulletin

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE

CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court Telephone: Harrison 8278

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

OFFICERS OF THE CLUB

FRANK I. MOULTON, President
 EDGAR A. BANCROFT, Vice-President
 ROY C. OSGOOD, Treasurer
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\$1.00 per Year - - - 10c per Copy

Entry as second class matter applied for

THE LISTENING POST

AT least a dozen members of the Club are already in military or allied service in France:

Wheaton Augur is a first lieutenant in the field artillery.

Ernest P. Bicknell is in charge of American Red Cross relief in Belgium.

J. Carlisle Bollenbacher is a first lieutenant in the aviation section, and at last report was expected to sail within a few days.

H. M. Conard and J. Arnold Scudder are in the ambulance service.

Lieutenant Gordon Hall is in the field artillery.

J. B. Jackson has a captain's commission. Lieutenant Norris W. Owens is in the signal corps.

Perry M. Shepherd is a captain in the quartermaster's department.

John K. Simons is with the International Y. M. C. A.

Captain Francis W. Taylor is with the U. S. engineers.

Gale Willard is learning to fly.

Paul E. Wilson is with the Red Cross in Paris.

Walter B. Wolf is first lieutenant in the field artillery.

THE *Tribune* graciously contributed the photos which are reproduced in this issue.

A REMINDER: The Club library is at your service.

WE regret to hear of the death of William Walter Johnson, a member since 1912. He died under an operation.

A FOB and a bracelet were found last week. They can be claimed at the cashier's desk. Come early and avoid the rush.

THE Civic Secretary had the misfortune to fall and break his right arm last Friday. He went to the hospital, had the bone set, and came right back to work.

THE following members were welcomed into the Club last week: E. S. Bradley, Founder and Director of Allendale Farm, Lake Villa, Ill.; Arthur S. McCleldowney, of Scully Steel and Iron Company.

THE influence of an organization like the Club has a very direct relation to the size of its membership. The blank sent out by the membership extension committee last week ought to be returned at once with the names of four (if possible) prospective members written in.

THE City Club Ambulance has been serving on the Verdun front, according to a letter received last week from James A. Anderson of Los Angeles, father of Rembert C. Anderson, its driver. "This particular unit," said Mr. Anderson, "notwithstanding the fact that the American Field Service has been taken over by the United States government and all of the boys sworn in as American soldiers for the duration of the war, has remained with the French service, the unit being loaned to the French government by the United States government."

HOLDEN, the store-room man for the restaurant, and Jackson, one of the elevator boys, enlisted last week. "Martin," the Mexican "house-man" is a veteran, having joined the army several months ago.

(Continued on page 307.)



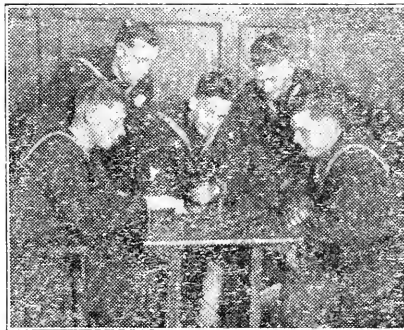
COMMISSARY.

JACKIES ENJOY "OPEN HOUSE" AT CLUB

Have "Grand Time" at First Opening of Club House to Soldiers and Sailors of U. S.

A HUNDRED or more of Uncle Sam's new "man-o-war-men," were the guests of the Club on Sunday, December 9th, the first day of open house for enlisted men. "The Club may well consider itself complimented in having had these boys as its guests," said a member who was present. "Certainly a more clear-eyed, clean-spoken, upstanding gentlemanly lot of men has never graced the club house. Any member who will spend an hour or two at the Club on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon or evening will go away with a new appreciation of the type of lad that is going to work the guns and stoke the fires for our protection and peace."

There were few soldiers on hand, the viciously cold weather doubtless having deterred many from taking advantage of leave from Camp Grant.



On the second floor lobby appetizing refreshments were served to the hungry sailors. The billiard room was at peak load all the time and the phonograph crew was frequently compelled to cease firing 'Harry Lauders' while the instrument cooled down. Sailor Mackintosh of Duluth kept the piano

going while six or eight fellow tars pulped some fine, close harmony.

The boys left assurances that they would come again and bring their friends.

The following members were on duty to greet the boys and to make them feel at home: Victor S. Yarros, Richard Pride, W. N. Buck, D. R. Kennicott, A. H. Reynolds, Joseph T. Ryerson, E. M. Moore and C. Yeomans. Refreshments were in charge of Mmes. Joseph T. Ryerson, Morris L. Johnston, George A. McKinlock, W. O. Wade, H. E. Daniels and W. K. Murray of the Red Cross Canteen Service and the Woman's City Club. Angus S. Hibbard of the State Council of Defense came in for a while, expressed his enthusiastic approval, and added materially to the gaiety.

Warming Up

To illustrate the necessity for this war service on the part of the Club: When a member of the Club approached two Jackies who stood shivering at the corner of State and Quincy streets Sunday afternoon and asked them if they would like to go to a good club, the answer was: "Any damn place!" Even the saloons are not available on Sunday and, as the great majority of the boys come from distant parts of the country, Chicago is a dreary proposition at three below.

"The Club is doing a splendid thing in keeping open house for soldiers and sailors," said Dr. Yarros in an address here last Thursday. "Ought not every club in the city open its doors instead of leaving the boys on the streets with their hands in their pockets inquiring, 'What next? What next?'"

The "Glad-Hand" Brigade

The hours during which the Club is open to the boys are from 2:30 to 1:00, Saturdays and Sundays. A squad of six members is in charge each day. Those on guard last Saturday were T. W. Allinson, Spencer Gordon, W. J. McDonough, J. D. Clancy, James M. Hart and P. J. Templeton. On Sunday, the following were assigned to duty: Fred Heuchling, Jens Jensen, Felix A. Norden, George O. Fairweather, L. J. Kempf and G. L. Weaver. Assignments have been made for several weeks in advance and are as follows:

Saturday, December 22. James P. Petrie, R. M. Cunningham, H. C. Edmonds, F. E. Plowman, C. W. Andrews and C. Paul Parker.

Sunday, December 23. J. J. Forstall, W. S. Reynolds, H. P. Chandler, C. K. Brown, A. E. Taylor and M. P. Randell.

Saturday, December 29. W. S. Monroe, J. R. Bibbins, T. N. Bishop, Julian Roe, William Gourlay and Frank T. Hennessey.

Sunday, December 30. J. R. Ozanne, O. H. Hassel, J. M. McVoy, C. D. Waterbury, H. Clark and R. L. Megowen.

Saturday, January 5. S. Bowles King, A. T. Carton, H. Daughaday, Bayard Holmes, James G. Weart and W. R. Smith.

Sunday, January 6. E. F. Hiller, G. K. Reed, N. T. Yeomans, Herbert Harley, A. S. Fielding and A. H. Reynolds.

Saturday, January 12. Morris L. Greeley, V. M. Gaspar, J. B. Freeman, J. W. Dietz, A. B. Hall and James M. Hart.

More phonograph records—any make—are desired. Also the services of members who can play popular airs on the piano to accompany singing.

Hospital Unit Contributes

The members of Base Hospital Unit No. 11, who have been holding weekly "first aid" meetings at the Club, were so interested in the "open house" idea that they took up a collection of \$10.00 and turned it over to the Soldiers and Sailors Entertainment Fund. Contributions from Club members to this fund have ranged from \$1.00 to \$15.00. The committee extends a cordial invitation to all to contribute in this way to the comfort and enjoyment of the soldiers and sailors of Uncle Sam. Checks can be sent to Charles Yeomans, Chairman, in care of the City Club.

THE cigar man has passed in a Christmas price list for box cigars so low that it makes us want to buy him out and go into the cigar business. He sells them in boxes of 25 from \$2.00 up to \$4.00; in boxes of 50 from \$2.05 to \$6.00—a range of prices in which you will find just the amount you wish to spend on a Merry Christmas for Cousin Jack at Rockford.

Those prices will save you as high as 15% on your holiday cigars.

If you smoke "coffin nails," Mack can also fit you out with boxes of all sizes at reasonable prices.

MILK REPORT DUE THIS WEEK

*Committee Will Present Findings in
Delivery Inquiry to Milk Commission.*

THE investigation of milk deliveries, as affecting prices undertaken, as announced in last week's Bulletin, by the Club's Wartime Committee, went along under a full head of steam last week and the results will be given to the Chicago Milk Commission, appointed by the U. S. Food Administration, within a few days. So far only the producers have been heard by the Commission. The Club's inquiry does not touch upon the possibility of price reduction through control of cost of production. It is the belief of those in charge of the inquiry that the elimination of duplicate deliveries would afford an opportunity for saving which ought to make a worthwhile reduction in milk prices possible.

Inquiry by Expert Staff

The inquiry is in immediate charge of a special committee consisting of William B. Moulton, chairman, Frederick S. Deibler, Thomas W. Allinson and Carl S. Miner. It has, as expert assistants on the technical side, the following:

B. H. HIBBARD, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin; author of a report just published for the University on "Marketing Wisconsin Milk."

C. S. DUNCAN, Lecturer on Commercial Organization, School of Commerce, University of Chicago.

FREDERICK S. DEIBLER, Professor of Economics, Northwestern University.

CHARLES K. MOHLER, Consulting Engineer, with whose transportation studies for Chicago, members of the Club are familiar.

FRANCIS X. BUSCH will act as counsel for the committee at its hearings when the report is presented. He will be assisted by W. J. LINDSAY.

The committee has also had the cooperation of a number of other persons familiar with the subject from various angles.

London Actually Doing It

Information was obtained last week that a consolidation of milk companies is actually taking place in London with

the distinct object of eliminating wasteful duplicate deliveries. The chairman of the United Dairies Co., Ltd., the company under which the amalgamation is taking place, in outlining the scheme gave the following reasons for it:

Competition Run Riot

"The usefulness of competition when restrained within reasonable limits and regulated by common sense is not disputed, but competition run riot, unrestrained, unregulated until it becomes abnormal, is not useful; on the other hand, it is decidedly harmful. When Milk Carrier Robinson drives three or four miles from his central delivery ground to follow one of his customers who has gone into Milk Carrier Smith's delivery area or to snatch one of Smith's customers, taking perhaps, a quart or it may be only a pint of milk per day—that sort of competition is harmful to everyone and of no good to anyone. It may seem to some to be an exaggerated suggestion, but practical men know that there are many such cases, besides innumerable cases of overlapping less grotesque. Such a system of recklessness—for that is what it is—involves waste of time, waste of energy, needless wear and tear to vehicles (and incidentally to the public ways), needless addition to traffic, and, above all, waste of man power. So it is not surprising that as regards the retail milk trade, as well as regards some other trades with which we as shareholders in this company have nothing to do, various authorities have directed attention to such wastefulness, and called upon the trade, *at a time when waste of any kind is an offense, almost a treasonable offense, against the national welfare*, to reorganize deliveries."

A CHRISTMAS fund for employees is being taken up. Do you realize how many employees it takes to run the Club? Fifty-seven, including scrub-women, manager, office-boy, bookkeeper, waitresses, elevator boys, stenographers, pages, cooks, engineers, cashier, cigar-man.

NATION PROTECTS ARMY MORALS

Uncle Sam a World Pioneer in Controlling Venereal Diseases, Says Dr. Yarros.

"ONE of the greatest contributions of America to the war," was the comment of Dr. Rachael Yarros on the new standard of morals which the government has established for its army. America, she said, has taken the most radical stand of any government in the control of venereal diseases and the influence of this position is being already felt all over the world.

Dr. Yarros is chairman of the Health and Recreation Section, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense. She is devoting much of her energy at present in aid of the task of keeping the life in and about the camps clean.

Prostitution on Border

Dr. Yarros told of the experience of our army on the Mexican border. "Prostitution went with the army," she said, "as always in history. History has shown that prostitution always follows the army and that venereal diseases are an inevitable result. A few years ago the Secretary of War said that our army had a higher percentage of venereally diseased men than any other in the world. That is no longer true. The number of such men in the army—about 8 or 10 per cent—is less than that in the civil population."

The reduction of venereal diseases, Dr. Yarros pointed out, means much to the efficiency of the army. If a large number of our men in France are infected with venereal diseases, instead of being on the firing line they will be at the rear. All this represents just so much loss in food and clothing and care that ought to go to the men who are doing the fighting.

Government Takes Radical Step

Dr. Yarros told of the measures adopted by the government to control and check venereal diseases in the army. First, it sent orders to the army and navy officers in charge that no prostitutes should be permitted in or near the camps. Some of the officers at first thought that the idea was a fad but since have come

to admit its wisdom. Next, the government, realizing that prostitution has always gone hand in hand with liquor, provided that no liquor should be sold to soldiers or sailors. "The enforcement of this order," Dr. Yarros said, "is a standing example of army efficiency." Along with these measures, a most efficient corps of specialists has been enlisted to treat venereal diseases and apply prophylactic measures. The men are required to report a disease, if it is acquired, and if a man should fail he is court-martialed and loses his pay for the period during which he is sick.

"The government also realized," Dr. Yarros said, "that the men must have fun. Not only has the Y. M. C. A. been encouraged to go into camps but a special committee with Raymond Fosdick at the head has enlisted some of the country's best recreation experts in the work of developing recreation in the camps. The government is also carrying on an educational propaganda through literature, lectures by men in uniforms, exhibits, movies, etc."

Chicago Has Duty

All this imposes a big responsibility on the civilian population, Dr. Yarros asserted. Captain Moffett, of the Great Lakes Station, she told her audience, one day said to her: "I keep my 'Jackies' busy but what do you in Chicago do for them when you get them there?"

"Of course," continued Dr. Yarros, "the soldiers and sailors should not be the only objects of our care. The boys in the next draft are still a part of our civilian population. It is up to the community to see that the civil population gets the same sort of protection and education that is afforded the boys in the cantonments. There is no campaign of education going on among the boys of Chicago. It is something which the men of the city ought to take up."

At the close of Dr. Yarros' address, Dr. W. A. Pusey spoke briefly from the floor endorsing her plea for civilian co-

'THE LISTENING POST

(Continued from page 302.)

operation in control and prevention of venereal diseases.

FLOYD A. MILLER is a lieutenant in the aviation corps.

WE have a hard time keeping track of members in war service. They hop from bush to bush like sparrows. E. L. Burchard writes us that he is no longer with the Food Administration, but may be addressed in care of the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.

ELMO C. LOWE and a lone draughtsman manage the office of Lowe & Bollenbacher these days. Mr. Bollenbacher has gone to the war and with him four of the firm's five draughtsmen. The final blow came last week when the stenographer deserted to marry an army officer at Rockford. A pretty good service record, isn't it?

THE editor picked this out of the contribution box last week:

TO THE EDITOR,

Sir:—Chicago has a great deal to be thankful for in the cleanliness of its moving pictures. Not every city—and for the matter of that, not every state—can feel that its little children, sweet-minded boys and girls of impressionable age, can go to these theatres and return with their minds unsullied and their white souls uninjured in the least. Fathers and mothers of innocent children doubtless realize these facts and congratulate themselves.

Yours for sincerity,

MIGNONETTE.

AT THE fourth annual convention of the Illinois Municipal League held at the University of Illinois December 6-7, a merger was effected between that organization and the League of Illinois Municipalities, organized last spring. It was decided to hold the meeting of the League next year in Chicago.

The Illinois Municipal League is composed to a large extent of mayors and other city officials. These officials declared that down-state cities sorely

need an increase in the tax rate for municipal purposes, and the resolutions adopted by the convention strongly favor a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of providing larger revenues for the cities of the state. At the last session of the Legislature a law was passed making it possible for cities outside of Chicago to levy more taxes provided the people on a referendum vote should favor the increased levy. It is a special desire of the mayors and other officials of down-state cities to have authority to levy increased taxes without a referendum. The resolutions adopted by the League urge a constitutional convention for Illinois and favor legislation authorizing any city or village in the state that desires to do so to adopt the City Manager plan of government.

Ye Committee on Fyr Proteccioun Greets Ye Readers of Ye Citty Clubbe Bullytyn

MERRIE Christmas to all, and to all these tymelic suggestions for assurance of ye glad-someness that should surround ye holyday season.

Use Asbestos Fibre instead of cotton to represent snow on ye Yule Tree. Asbestos will not burn and anyway it looks more spend-thrifty.

If you use candles on your tree, place a pail of water handy, or, to be still safer, use a set of incandescent electric lamps.

Use metallic tinsel and non-inflammable decorations. A celluloid ornament will flash like gunpowder if it gets too near a flame.

Smoke your Christmas cigars on ye far side of ye room from ye tree, or better still, go into ye conservatory.

Next to financing ye party, ye Pater can help most by removing wrapping paper to ye back stoop as soon as presents have been opened.

OVER THE TOP

“**P**ERHAPS, towards twelve o'clock the prospect of lunch puts a touch of romance upon life,” says Walter Lippmann, writing about business men in “*A Preface to Politics*.”

No “perhaps” about it if it is lunch at the City Club which is in prospect.

Eating here has become a delectable gastronomic adventure since the House Committee went “over the top” in a drive for better grub.

The City Club has suddenly become one of the best—and least expensive—places in town in which to eat.

Try it. See if it hasn't. It's *your* club, you know.

Good food, of course, does not interfere with the other things you find to enjoy at the club—the lounge, library and reading room, etc., and the association with other men who are doing interesting things.



VOLUME X

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1917

NUMBER 20

CHRISTMAS WEEK AT THE CLUB

NEW ENGLANDERS ATTENTION!
BRING YOUR FRIENDS!

LADIES' NIGHT—Thursday, December 27, at 8:00.

"ALL AROUND NEW ENGLAND"—A pictorial lecture by E. S. JONES of Boston—Slides and Moving Pictures.

MOUNTAINS LAKES RIVERS WOODS SEASHORE

Regular evening service in dining room. Reserve for dinner in advance.

NO "CLUB DAY" LUNCHEON NEXT THURSDAY



ANOTHER of our folks at the Washington front: Edward R. Johnston is assistant counsel to the War Credits Committee.

THE contribution box for "The Listening Post" is bringing in a few items but not enough. We hope that the time will come when our readers contribute most of this "colyum."

IRVING K. POND is the designer of the new cover page heading and the heading for the "Listening Post" column. He did them "free gratis" and we are

much obliged to him. Our friends are helping us to make this an attractive paper.

WALTER S. ROGERS is doing more than a "bit" for Uncle Sam. He writes us that he is now Director of the Division of Foreign Press for the Committee on Public Information, with headquarters in New York. His job is to spread American news abroad by telegraph, cable and wireless.

CARL Johnson, a former member of the Club staff and now a member of the Chicago Bar, has been on hand at the Club every day on which there has been "open house" for the soldiers and has been very helpful in making the boys feel at home and in bringing in men in

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A Journal of Active Citizenship

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE

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Entered as second class matter, December 3d, 1917, at the post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879

uniform who seem to be aimlessly walking the streets. Last Saturday night he came in at the head of a squad of thirty or forty engineers who were on three-hour leave from their train en route from California to a camp in Maryland—a fine looking set of fellows in charge of a very brisk and capable looking non-commissioned officer.

THE Public Affairs Committee is taking a hand in the controversy over the city's financial muddle. Prof. Mead appeared on behalf of the Committee the other day at the hearing before the Council Finance Committee and Chicago representatives in the legislature. He said that the statements of the chairman of the Finance Committee and the controller indicating the financial embarrassment of the city were of a general character only and could have no force except in the light of a complete budget showing the actual needs of the city for the ensuing year. It is necessary, he urged, not only to know how much money there is to spend, but to present a wisely drawn and economical scheme of expenditure.

DR. JOHN F. URIE is in command of the Naval hospital at New Orleans.

JOE Palise, the Club manager, has been on the job in and out of hours to help the Soldiers' and Sailors' Entertainment Committee.

STILL another of our members has gone to the wars: George J. Anderson, chairman of the Committee on Vice Conditions, has joined the army and is a first lieutenant in the Sanitary Corps.

THE phonograph in the Lounge has excited some alarm. The fears are needless. The machine will be played only for the delectation of the soldiers and sailors who visit us on Saturday and Sunday P. M.

FRANK M. LEAVITT is leaving us to become associate superintendent of the Pittsburgh Public Schools. We are particularly sorry to lose him, because of his efficient work as chairman of the Club Committee on Public Education.

OUR chest—editorially speaking—swells with pride to observe in the *Dallas (Texas) Morning News* of December 4, a fine quarter-page cut of the Club House of the City Club of Chicago, under the caption "example of civic attractiveness."

JOHN M. CURRAN has gone to Washington to work for Uncle Sam. His responsibilities as chairman of the special committee, which is considering the Bureau of Efficiency's plan for the consolidation of local governments, have descended upon Mr. Joseph Cummins.

THE collection of fiction loaned by the Public Library and maintained in our reading room is proving so delightful that several of the volumes have disappeared. Unless the person who has them brings them out of hiding, we will turn the case over to the Department of Justice.

THE dealers appeared before the Chicago Milk Commission last week, but up to the time that this Bulletin went to press the Club's War Time Committee had not been called. Francis X. Busch and William J. Lindsay, representing the committee, however, have been present and participated in the examination of witnesses.

PHILADELPHIA will buzz this week with sociologists, political scientists, historians and economists, gathered from

(Continued on page 315).

"OH BOY!" "YANKS ARE COMING!"

*Sailors from Great Lakes Band
Serenade Club at War Savings Rally*

FORTY-SIX husky tars from the Great Lakes Band sat in the gallery of the dining room last Thursday noon and tried to blow a hole through the roof. It was only a section of the band, but one member remarked that if this was a sample the whole outfit ought to be sent over to the west front to blow a hole in the Hindenburg line.

The occasion was a rally to promote the sale of war thrift stamps and certificates. Besides the band, there were speeches by Andrew J. McLaughlin and Col. J. S. Dennis of the British Recruiting Mission.

Tornado of Sound

As the boys swung into "Over There!" some of us sat and trembled for the Pond and Pond architecture, for while we knew it could stand any ordinary strain we didn't know how it would weather a cyclone. Some of those present at the luncheon were afraid for a time that they would have to go hungry, for the waitresses couldn't hear their orders.

Prof. Mc Laughlin apologized, as a teacher, for trying to say anything to business men about thrift, but succeeded in proving an alibi, with his Scotch ancestry for a credential. He told what the government hopes to do by the sale of the thrift stamps and certificates and urged those present to help in every way possible to promote this sale.

"If democracy would be safe it must be saving," said Prof. McLaughlin. "A quarter a day keeps the Kaiser away," was the manner in which one of the hearers phrased the same sentiment.

Saving to Help Win War

Prof. McLaughlin said that the thrift stamps and certificates first of all represent a good way for the government to get money. "Every man, woman and child ought to invest at least 25c in the war," he said. "The government hopes to raise about \$2,000,000,000 in this way during the coming year."

"But the government has more than money-raising in view. Its aim is also

to encourage thrift. We have been an extravagant people—not only in our expenditure of money, but in our expenditure of human energy. We must learn to save human energy, and the best way to begin is by saving the money which purchases it."

Besides the twenty-five cent thrift stamps, Prof. McLaughlin explained, the government is selling certificates at \$4.12, which on January 1, 1923, at 4 per cent compound interest, will be worth \$5.00.

Pay Now or Later

Col. Dennis, who is a Canadian, gave us the friendly advice of a neighbor. "Unless we win the war," he said, "you, as the richest nation in the world, are going to pay the cost. We have been fighting to keep the Prussian mad-dog out of your sheep-fold as well as ours. The Kaiser told Gerard that when the war was over he would settle with the United States. We are hanging on over there 'waiting or the Yanks to come,' and the war will not be over until America can send over enough men to clean up this dirty job."

With the necessity of winning the war as a premise, Col. Dennis backed up Prof. McLaughlin's plea for co-operation in the thrift stamp campaign. "We, and in that I include the Canadians," he said, "are an extravagant, money-spending people. We do not appreciate the principle of saving. Early in the war England introduced the thrift stamp plan and has raised a great deal of revenue in that way."

A Good Investment

"Your government made a marvelous record in the sale of Liberty Bonds. No citizen, however, has the right to pat himself on the back for buying a bond. It was a business proposition, at a high rate of interest, backed by the richest nation on earth. The same thing is true of the thrift stamps."

Col. Dennis aroused applause with his story of Canada's part in the great war. After the meeting, the crowd waited while the band once more went over the top with some stirring airs.

LUNCH WHERE FRIENDS GATHER

YOU will find friends to welcome you every noon at the City Club.

You will find the best of food and the best of service.

You will find prices that mean true economy in these days.

Make the City Club your downtown home. Lunch here with your friends every day.

Our noonday crowd has more than doubled in the past few weeks.

If you don't believe we are serving better rations than you can get elsewhere for the money—come and find out.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

THERE has been a change of ministry in the Municipal Voters' League. The new cabinet chosen at its annual meeting the other day comprises:

Samuel Adams, president, in place of F. B. Johnstone, resigned.

Harold F. White, vice-president, in place of Mr. Adams.

Joseph Cummins, secretary, in place of W. D. Bangs.

Edward Eagle Brown, treasurer, to succeed himself.

All are members of our local soviet. Mr. Adams was until recently a member of the Public Affairs Committee; Mr. White was for five years on the Board of Directors; Mr. Cummins is chairman of our committee on Unification of Local Governments; Mr. Brown has served on civic committees.

The "gray wolves" have no illusion that the change of cabinet officers means an armistice. The league's peace formula for next spring is "Victory with Annexations"—the annexations being the scalps of a number of undesirable aldermen.

A GOOD habit is to carry a bunch of membership application cards around in your pocket.

Club Offers Christmas Cheer to Boys in Blue and Khaki

THE "open days" for soldiers and sailors have been such jolly affairs that the directors have decided to keep the Club open on Christmas during the usual hours from 2:30 to 11:00 p. m. If the attendance seems to warrant, a similar arrangement will be made for New Year's.

The attendance at the second weekend was bigger than that of the first, and the boys had just as good a time. Although the Saturday crowd was rather small, due probably to the fact that many of the boys were doing their Christmas shopping, the Sunday attendance was about two hundred. "We feel," said Charles Yeomans, chairman of the Entertainment Committee, "that the steady growth in attendance dispels all doubt as to the future of the scheme."

Sunday the fire was going in the fireplace all the time and the whole atmosphere of the occasion was most attractive. Mrs. Morris Rosenwald, who was on Canteen duty, sang popular songs, and was the center of an enthusiastic chorus about the piano. C. M. Delaney also played accompaniments for singing. The piano has been loaned the Club indefinitely by the Cable Company.

The Canteen service continues to be very popular both as to refreshments and personnel. A serious shortage of supplies developed with the rush of trade Sunday evening and members of the committee had to make hurried trips to the Chicago Club, Henrici's and the Elks' Club—where Mr. Dignan, formerly manager of the City Club, helped them out with some of his supplies—in order to meet the demand.

In the course of the afternoon W. S. Monroe read to an interested group, about the fireplace, a very thrilling letter from his nephew, John Root, who is an officer in the camouflage service on the western front.

Club members who intend to have soldiers or sailors at their homes for dinner on Christmas or New Year's ought to have on hand to give to the boys some of the cards announcing the "open house" privileges at the Club.

TRAINING FOR SOLDIER-CRIPPLES

Uncle Sam Has Plan to Return Disabled Men to Firing Line of Industry

IF the war continues until American troops are on the firing line in great numbers, we will have returned to us, thousands of disabled men—legless, sightless, suffering from shock, or otherwise incapacitated for work. Shall we consider them as dependents for life, or shall we try to put them back on the firing line of industry at tasks which they are competent to perform.

The Surgeon-General announced the other day that these men are going to have the best of care by Uncle Sam. The plans, he said, "contemplate provision for the necessary surgical and medical attention by specialists; for reconstruction hospitals and curative workshops; for re-education in the use of injured and artificial limbs; for vocational education or re-education; for occupational studies of industrial and agricultural conditions; and for returning soldiers to employment in civilian life on a self-supporting and useful basis. Plans are being drawn up on the theory that governmental responsibility will not have been fully met and the soldier made ready for discharge unless he is fitted to take useful remunerative employment and a job is ready for him to step into."

Miss Elizabeth Upham writes interestingly on this subject in Bulletin 876 of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.

Make Over Discards

"The problem of the disabled soldier," she says, "becomes intensified as each day the war diminishes the outgoing strength of the country and increases the incoming discards from the front. Insofar as the problem of the handicapped soldier is successfully met, just so effectively will the country rally from the depressions which inevitably follow war. It is a line of preparedness which far outlasts the program of war and is the structure upon which the social and economic wealth of the country depends.

"The story of the disabled soldier as it has been told in times past is a tragedy.

He returns unable to do his former work. Idleness awaits him for the rest of his life. Drunkenness, disease, and social maladjustments may follow, and he helps to make the drain of dependency at a time when the vitality of his country can least afford it, when pensions are taxing the treasury, when private and public charity are strained to the utmost, when hospitals and institutions are over-run, and when factories are depopulated. These conditions are a real liability. It is for this country to decide whether this shall be our future outlook in the present emergency, or whether we shall reclaim our men, industrially speaking, during their period of convalescence, and fit and train them for productive work, so that not only will the factories be continued, but an industrial army of self-supporting citizens may be equipped."

What Canada Did

Miss Upham describes the methods adopted by Canada in dealing with this problem: "No provision was made in Canada for the returning soldier. Hospitalization was inadequate; homes, convents, and shacks were hastily used. Canada bravely faced her problem as the men actually arrived. Her awakening to a conception of rehabilitation came slowly. Time, money, and deterioration in human efficiency paid the price of that delay. After the equipping of hospital ships, trains, the organizing of a large clearance hospital at Halifax, and the disposal of men in hospitals and convalescent homes, Canada learned that the problem of rehabilitation was still unsolved." * * *

Men Trained for Jobs

"Every day added to the knowledge that the men needed mental and physical occupation, not excessive rest. Vocational and technical education has begun under Prof. Kidner. Classes in reading, writing, agriculture, cobbling, mechanics, carpentry, architectural drafting, electric wiring, artificial limb making, and type-writing were organized. Recovery of the patients was accelerated by these new

interests. Typewriting proved a skillful massage; regular work requiring real effort aided orthopaedic treatment; sluggish mentalities were stimulated; wandering and forgetful minds were concentrated; and insomnia decreased by wholesome fatigue."

"Accompanying this vocational training," Miss Upham says, "there must be a survey of industries to determine what occupations there are in which disabled men may be employed. Such occupations as wrapping, labelling, cement laying, stone chiseling, machine feeding, crane operating, and hundreds of others, will be opened, with a little instruction, to unskilled laborers who have sustained the loss of a leg; while delivery work and foot lever machines indicate a few of the many occupations which may occupy the handless."

Economy to Nation

"The point of economy to the nation cannot be overlooked," says Miss Upham in conclusion, "as a matter of dollars and cents it is a paying investment to teach the helpless to be productive, or vast sums must be spent not only for their care, but for the care of those dependent upon them. * * *

"Although this war has surpassed all others in horror, it will have the distinction of being the first to have social consciousness and progress turned to the rehabilitation of its disabled. There will exist for the first time an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of the psychology of the handicapped. It will be the first time that occupational therapy is used to further the cure of the disabled hero, and bring about the miracle of productive days instead of a dreary expanse of years."

U. S. to Care for Cripples

The Surgeon General's announcement, above quoted, indicates that the United States government is giving heed to all these considerations. "In the United States," to quote further from his statement, "a returned soldier will go first to a receiving hospital at the port of arrival. There he will receive only such medical attention as he may require until he is transferred to a clearing station. Here he must be classified carefully, first, as to physical limitations which his conditions

may impose upon his future employment; second, as to mental limitations, either natural or the result of shock or injury; third, as to vocational limitations and possibilities, depending upon the education, special training, industrial or agricultural experience, etc., which he has had; and, fourth, as to his relation to the occupational conditions in the community or section to which he will return to re-enter civil life.

Special Treatment Provided

"Equipment for heat treatments and electro and hydro therapy will be provided; gymnasiums will furnish opportunity for special exercise for re-education in the use of joints, muscles, and nerves which have been effected in service; in curative workshops men will perform useful work, which at the same time will bring these parts into activity. While in most cases it will be possible to fit a man to return to employment in an occupation the same as or similar to that from which he was drawn from military service, in other cases new industrial or agricultural training will be needed; in still others, further academic or commercial education will be called for, and so on. The aim will be to return every man to civil life able to be self-supporting and useful and not dependent merely upon the pension which he will receive from the Government."

BYNG may swat the Germans with a surprise attack; Haig may send the boys over the top to chew off another chunk of German trench; Diaz may ward off an enemy thrust on the banks of the Piave—but the work of these strategists is nothing to speak of beside that of the "war college" gathered every afternoon around the chess boards in the Club reading room. You will probably never have the thrilling experience of visiting a European battlefield, but you *can* see, every Saturday after lunch, General Si Watkins lead a cavalry attack on the Queen's rook, or batter down a Hindenburg line of pawns by a heavy concentration of pieces. If chess thrills you, visit the reading room some day after lunch.

WHETHER you smoke like a chimney, or smoke just moderately, smoke City Club cigars.



(Continued from page 310).

all over the United States in annual conclave. It will probably interest Snow, Fetzer and other opposition leaders in Chicago's Medicine Hat to know that Captain Merriam is to be present and to discuss "The Juristic Conception of Sovereignty." Captain Merriam is in the aviation corps and although his speech may be over our heads, we should like to be there to witness some of his famous intellectual dives and spins. We are sure that he can talk circles around anybody there.

Our Professor W. F. Dodd will talk about "Political Science in Relation to Actual Government." Prof. Dodd is running the State Legislative Reference Bureau at Springfield.

The organizations which are getting together are the American Sociological Society, the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Historical Society. The sessions are from Thursday to Saturday, December 27 to 29.

JAMES CURTISS is Chief Bos'n's mate on the U. S. S. Gopher. Y'ho! ho! and a bottle of rum!

TWO beautiful paintings by Charles Abel Corwin have been loaned for an indefinite period through the courtesy of Mrs. Corwin. They are hung in the Club lounge.

A FEW years ago workmen's compensation was a radical idea. With the passage of such laws by five states this year, thirty-seven states—not including Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico—have adopted workmen's compensation.

EXTRA! Extra! Club Library Committee re-organized! Frederick Rex, of the Municipal Reference Library, at the City Hall, heads the committee and Harris Keeler has been appointed a member. The committee otherwise—A. G. S. Josephson—remains unchanged.

If you ask for anything at the library and don't get it, Rex is to blame.

CHICAGO does like to read. Last month Chicagoans took from the Public Library for home use nearly 20 per cent more books than during the same month in 1916. About 60 per cent of these were circulated from branches and over 85 per cent in other ways than through the central library.

ONE of our members the other day stepped into the elevator of the Munsey Building, Washington, and encountered an unknown man reading the *City Club Bulletin*. Mutual introductions followed and the eager reader was discovered also to be a member of the Club. Thus is our influence being felt in the far corners of the earth!

GEORGE O. FAIRWEATHER invites members of the Club to join the battalion of the Illinois Volunteer Training Corps, which meets every Saturday night from 7:30 to 9:30 at the Reynolds Club, 57th and University avenue. The unit is being formed under the auspices of the Committee on Military Training of the Chicago Alumni Club of the University of Chicago.

A WRITER once asked the question why a shower bath is so conducive to song. Did you ever notice how a group of men under a shower seem to shed their troubles and sing or warwhoop like a horde of savage Indians. A bath does that to some people. This is simply a reminder that there is an excellent shower on the fourth floor for the benefit of those who wish to wash away the troubles of the day with a dash of hot and a dash of cold.

FEW of our members realize what a busy center this is for gatherings at the noon hour. Not only do the committees meet then, but the spare dining rooms are usually occupied with other groups. Last Tuesday, to pick a day at random, the City Planning Committee, the Soldiers and Sailors' Entertainment Committee and the Sub-committee on Milk Deliveries, the Federation of Settlements, the Municipal Voters' League and the Illinois Chapter of the American Institute of Architects had luncheon meetings.



ADOPT A CITY CLUB SAMMY!

How?

BY GETTING A NEW MEMBER
TO TAKE HIS PLACE

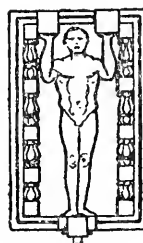
THE Club is sorry to lose the services of its members who have gone to the front—many of whom have been very active in its work. Help to replace them!

Members who have gone into service are exempt from dues. That means an annual loss to the Club of between \$3000 and \$4000. The Club never sacrificed any money more willingly than these dues but its up to those who stay behind to help make up the difference.

Yoy Can Serve the Club and do a Good Turn for a Friend by Presenting His Name for Membership.

MEMBERSHIP EXTENTION COMMITTEE

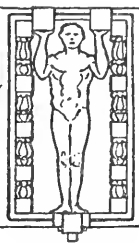




The City Club Bulletin

Published Weekly by the City Club of Chicago

A Journal of Active Citizenship



VOLUME X

MONDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1917

NUMBER 21

NEW YEAR GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT

PERSUADED by my own inclination, encouraged, aided and abetted by the editor, I am led to extend the season's greetings to the members of the City Club.

With many of our members called to the service, and an equal number engaged in one or another war work activity, with the attention of all of us diverted from our usual interests, there has been a need that some of us should concentrate on club and local affairs.

There is reason for congratulation, that in the face of these distractions our organization has kept so well to its task, and that this has been done without neglect of paramount war demands. Our members have provided an ambulance for France. They are aiding in the entertainment of men in the Army and Navy by opening the Club house to them on Saturdays and Sundays. The Club's Wartime Committee is at work, with the aid of experts, on the problem of high milk prices and is in other and many ways making the Club's influence felt in the solution of war problems.

The calling of a state constitutional convention, unification of local govern-

ments, relief of the city's present financial stress, and other problems of pressing local interest, are receiving serious consideration by the proper committees of the Club.

Yet the problem of how to run a down town club with as low dues as those of the City Club remains. The solution probably lies in a large and enthusiastic membership. This cannot be had except each member shall feel a personal responsibility and give to the Club of his time and service.

War time activities must be, in a measure, at least, additional ones, and not merely substitutional ones.

New members are needed to replace those called to the service. The officers of the Club can be greatly encouraged by a larger attendance at Club functions, and a more liberal patronage of the restaurant and other facilities of the Club.

May the New Year bring prosperity to our members, increased usefulness to the Club, victory to our arms, and peace, with justice, to the nations of the earth.

FRANK I. MOULTON,
President.

LEST WE FORGET: THE CLUB HAS exchange privileges with City Clubs in Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Portland and St. Louis and with the Duluth Commercial Club. Any member who is visiting any of these cities is entitled to the courtesies of the City Club upon presentation of a letter from his home Club.

THE PIANO IS A SOURCE OF GREAT ENJOYMENT to the soldiers and sailors who visit the Club at its "open house" weekends. Anybody who can play popular airs will contribute greatly to the spirit of these occasions by volunteering for this service. Surely no form of war work could be more delightful.

No Club Discussions This—New Year's—Week

The City Club Bulletin

A Journal of Active Citizenship

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO

315 Plymouth Court Telephone: Harrison 8278

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IF YOU MEET EITHER OF THESE MEN at the Club, shake! They are new members: Heber J. Sears, physician; Harry C. Moylan of John A. Carroll & Brother, Real Estate.

ROBERT R. STAFFORD, LISTED RECENTLY as sergeant, and Albert A. Sercomb have received commissions as second lieutenant of the 124th Field Artillery.

MAJOR DEAN LEWIS IS DIRECTOR OF Base Hospital No. 13.

CARL M. NEWMAN IS ENLISTED IN THE Quartermaster's Reserve Corps.

HARRY M. VAWTER IS A LIEUTENANT in the ordnance department equipment division of the Army.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM J. MACK AND Sergeant Leon Lewis are Franceward bound. Both are assigned to the task of explaining the government's war insurance to the soldiers at the front. Sergeant Robert T. Mack is engaged in the same line of service in this country.

NOBLE B. JUDAH, JR., IS SERVING IN the Rainbow Division on the French

front. He is major in the 149th Field Artillery.

WE HAD A GOOD PEEK AT NEW ENGLAND scenery last Thursday night, when E. S. Jones, of Boston, gave an illustrated lecture at the Club on this subject. The pictures—which included several reels of movies—were much enjoyed by the audience. It was ladies night.

THE CLUB'S WASHINGTON COLONY grows:

Wallace Streeter is clerk of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Department of State.

John R. Reilly is first lieutenant Ordnance R. C., Supply Division.

D. Himmelblau is employed in a civilian capacity in the paymaster's department of the Navy.

J. H. Hecht is with the Committee on Public Information.

ATTENTION! THE CLUB IS ANXIOUS to keep the home fires burning for its members in army or navy service. Word of their promotions, items of personal experience and so on which we can publish to their friends through the Bulletin are wanted. If you are in service, write us a letter occasionally, addressed to the editor of the Bulletin. Or if you have a friend or a relative in service keep us informed about him. Maybe you have a letter which would be of interest to publish in whole or part.

We will be glad to forward the City Club Bulletin for members in active service to any address named.

IT WAS A MERRY CHRISTMAS FOR THE fifty-seven employes of the Club! Santa Claus came with a check book in his hand and rained his blessings on everybody. The Christmas fund this year amounted to about \$1,600. It was contributed by 530 members in amounts ranging from 50c to \$20.00. The amounts distributed ranged from \$2.00 to \$50.00, the chief consideration in the division being length of service. Nineteen employes have been in the service five years or more, two of them for eleven years, two for nine years, and fifteen for periods ranging from five to eight years.

A LEAN YEAR AHEAD FOR THE CITY

Club Committees, However, Point Way to Permanent Economies

FEW people would envy the city fathers their job of keeping the wolf from the municipal doorway next year. Two committees of the City Club which have been observing the situation think that the City Council ought not merely to shoo the beast away but to chloroform him if possible. The only good wolf is a dead wolf.

These committees, the committees on City Manager Plan and on Public Expenditures have written letters on the subject—the former last Wednesday to the joint City Council and Legislative Committee which is trying to find a way out of the dilemma, the latter on December 21 to the chairman of the Finance Committee and the Comptroller. Both were in answer to a request addressed to civic organizations to support a request for a special session of the Legislature to relieve the city's financial stress.

The letter from the committee on City Manager Plan said in part:

Permanent Savings the Goal.

Gentlemen:

While the main purpose of your committee is calling together representatives of civic organizations was to secure support for a special session of the Legislature to provide immediate financial relief for Chicago, the Finance Committee of the City Council has itself indicated the desirability of giving consideration in this connection to measures designed to insure permanent savings. The Finance Committee has gone on record as favoring legislation to do away with the election of the city clerk and the city treasurer, to make the term of aldermen four years, and to reduce the number of elections. It also declared for "any legislation which may be agreed upon by the special committee consisting of five members of the House of Representatives, five members of the State Senate and five members of the City Council which will bring about savings in expenditures to the City of Chicago." * * *

It is frequently assumed that measures of permanent economy can very

well await the next regular session of the general assembly. This assumption overlooks the fact, however, that the regular session of the Legislature to convene in January, 1919, can do nothing to affect the very important Chicago city election to be held in April, 1919. Only a special session of the Legislature now in existence can influence that situation. Therefore, if a special session be held, it ought at least to pass a law reducing the number of city elections to be held following the election of April, 1919, and to provide for the selection of city officials on non-partisan lines. Fewer elections mean lengthening the term of aldermen and making the city clerk and city treasurer appointive instead of elective. It is to be assumed that aldermen elected for four-year terms would be subject to popular recall. It would seem, too, that if the mayor is to remain elective by the people for a four-year term, he also should be subject to recall by the people. The President of the United States and the Governor of Illinois are liable to removal from office by impeachment proceedings. Under existing laws the mayor of Chicago can be removed from office only as an incident to successful prosecution on criminal charges. This defect of law ought to be remedied before another mayor is elected, by partisan methods, for a four-year term.

Manager Plan Next.

We believe the matters of non-partisan elections, fewer elections, and the four-year term for aldermen with the recall, should be acted upon by a special session of the Legislature, in case a special session is called. With agreement upon this much of a program of governmental reorganization for the City of Chicago, it is only one step farther to the city manager plan, as proposed by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, under which the mayor would be chosen by the City Council.

We respectfully urge that your committee, in addition to considering the needs of Chicago for financial relief,

give attention to a program of legislation for Chicago designed to bring about savings in expenditures and to promote efficiency. In this connection, we especially urge careful consideration of the plan of reorganization of the municipal government of Chicago, as proposed by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency. Under war conditions it is especially imperative that provision be made for non-partisan elections and for fewer elections.

If a special session of the Legislature shall, upon a more complete showing of the city's financial needs, appear to be required, it may not be called for several months yet, in which case there will be time to formulate a program designed to bring about savings in expenditures and to marshal public opinion in support of it.

Respectfully submitted,

CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON CITY
MANAGER PLAN FOR CHICAGO.

Joseph Cummins, *Chairman*.

Besides the chairman, Mr. Cummins, the members of the Club committee are: Philip S. Post, P. Orman Ray, T. W. Allinson, R. F. Schuchardt and J. G. Skinner.

Expenditures Committee Has Plan.

The letter from the Committee on Public Expenditures referred also to the request for support for a special session of the Legislature. It is interesting to note that in line with the first suggestion embodied in the committee's letter, namely, that the Finance Committee should first frame a budget, a suggestion made also by other organizations, the Finance Committee has started the preparation of its budget. The committee in its letter, states:

That co-operation in bringing about reasonable and necessary relief through legislative action will cheerfully be extended under the following conditions:

Make Up Budget.

1. That, in view of the fact that it is proposed to increase the available revenue for corporate purposes, due to an alleged emergency, the budget for 1918 be passed by the City Council before a special session is asked for, as a basis of ascertaining definitely the re-

BOY LEADERS GONE TO WAR—SERIOUS PROBLEM

CHICAGO is facing a serious shortage of men engaged in boys' work. These men, naturally among the best fitted physically and in other ways for active army service, have been drawn off in large numbers and boys' organizations—scout clubs, etc.,—have been in many cases left practically without leadership. One boys' organization with seventeen men, reported at a meeting last Wednesday night that it had lost every one of them. This is in the face of an alarming increase in boy delinquency since the war began. The Juvenile Court in Chicago reports a 30 per cent increase in juvenile delinquency and the Boys' Court an even larger percentage.

The situation has become so alarming that social workers interested in boy problems have organized what is known as the Boy Workers' Association. That association is trying to enlist new men in the work as volunteers or professionals and it is to give special training courses at the Y. M. C. A. college, Fifty-third street and Drexel avenue, beginning January 7, 1918. The association urges the importance of training. "The most effective method to check the increase of boy delinquency," it says, is "to provide plenty of wholesome recreation under a trained leader. Trained boy leaders are necessary because boys are quick to recognize an untrained leader."

The secretary of the Boy Workers' Association is Arthur A. Guild, care Juvenile Protective Association, 816 S. Halsted street.

OUT OF TOWN GUESTS INTRODUCED BY members, may be allowed the privileges of the Club for a two weeks' period. Here are some of those who had guest cards this month:

Byron Eslein of Milwaukee, introduced by T. S. Ellett.

R. S. Jones of New York City, introduced by C. W. Andrews.

Robert H. Cook of Glen Falls, N. Y., introduced by Charles Yeomans.

E. J. Samuels of Darlington, Wis., introduced by Harold Hopewell.

H. E. Sauer of Waterloo, Wis., introduced by E. S. Smith.

L. Hertle of Gunston Hall, Va., introduced by H. Daughaday.

HOMES FOR WORKERS IS WAR NEED

*Lack of Houses, Slows Down
Production of War Materials*

HOUSING has at last in this country become a national problem. As yet, America has hardly realized this fact but there are glimmerings of an awakening. It has been brought out by the desperate need for workers in war industries and the lack in many instances of places in which to house them. "Already," says Frank B. Williams of New York, in the current number of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, "the result has been greatly to aggravate a situation which was very grave before, and, unless relief on the high scale commensurate with the existing and threatened evils is speedily provided, the cumulative result will be intolerable." "Our ability to build ships," says an editorial in the same journal, "is found to be based upon first housing the workmen. In almost every industrial center, large or small, the cry is for houses and more houses."

Private Enterprise Inadequate

The ordinary machinery of private enterprise has been inadequate to the task of solving this problem. The shifts of workers from industry to industry and from place to place have been too great and too rapid. Most important of all, however, the cost of materials and labor have been so high and the prospects of a decrease in values after the war so probable that the field of housing offers little inducement to private capital. But the houses must be had and had quickly!

Every belligerent nation had to face this problem. New factories on a stupendous scale had been built; workers had to be provided for the factories, and they could not be had without some provision for their shelter. To some extent the emergency was met in England by the billeting of war workers upon the population, but this was recognized as a partial and temporary expedient. England, therefore, in the midst of war and as a war measure, launched one of the most stupendous housing enterprises ever attempted. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent in govern-

ment housing schemes and in government subsidies for house building. And quite as important as the magnitude of the task, has been the attitude of the government toward the standards of living to be maintained. She decided to build for the future—for after the war—and not alone for the immediate need. Temporary shacks would in time become slums and it was realized that no government can afford to allow the development of plague spots for its workers. England "was wise enough," says the editorial above mentioned, "not to try to meet the situation by temporary makeshifts but by building permanent houses which are to remain as a national asset, or else by building, as she did in some localities, other buildings such as hospitals, which later easily can be converted into substantial modern houses at low rentals. She met the problem squarely and with economic astuteness." New towns in many cases had to be built and these were laid out under the supervision of Raymond Unwin, the famous "garden city" planner, according to the best ideas of modern town planning.

An English Munitions Town

One of the English housing schemes, Well Hall, is described as follows in a recent issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*: "Well Hall is only one of the British Government's housing operations. It is situated about a mile from Woolwich and is a complete new development. It consists entirely of permanent dwellings for workmen. There are four types of houses of from two to four rooms with bath, the rentals ranging from seven shillings to fifteen shillings and sixpence a week. There have been built some sixteen hundred houses, all of the best materials available, and the design has preserved the traditions of English rural life."

Whether our government should itself build the houses or should merely subsidize private enterprise is a question of great importance. England started with subsidies but in later period of the war

has been following the other method. An observer close to these affairs in Washington says that it is believed that "the government will devote most of its effort to financing private undertaking with government funds, and will commit the government to actual participation in land purchase and house construction only when no other solution can be found."

SPLASH! CLUB COMMITTEE IN NEW MILK PROBE

THE City Club Wartime Committee put its foot in the milk situation and suddenly found itself to its neck. Its investigation of milk deliveries has been noted in previous issues of the Bulletin. But so far, because of the length of the testimony which is being introduced by the dealers, the committee's evidence has not been introduced.

In the meantime, however, some things have happened which have pushed the committee into an inquiry along new and broader lines. The producers of milk were on the stand for two weeks and introduced over 2,000 pages of testimony but the consumers had no representative on hand to check up their figures. So, even at this late hour, the committee decided to wade into the producers' end of controversy, having the assurance of the commission that there would be sufficient time for an analysis of the testimony and such other inquiries as the committee might desire to make.

The attorney for the committee in this particular branch of the inquiry will be ERNEST S. BALLARD. EDWARD E. GORE, accountant, selected for this work by the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants, co-operate with the committee in its technical studies and the committee will also be aided by members of the political economy staff of the University of Chicago, PROFESSORS C. S. DUNCAN, H. A. MILLIS and HAROLD G. MOULTON. W. S. James, of the firm of Walton and James, is abstracting the evidence introduced by the producers.

The evidence collected by the committee in its inquiry on deliveries will probably be presented to the Milk Commission in a few days.

Chicago's Financial Dilemma

(Continued from page 320.)

quirements of municipal activities, the amount of additional revenue required, and of supplying the citizens with a reliable and definite statement of how the money will be spent if granted.

Institute Economies.

2. That, before asking the Legislature to meet in special session, the City Council take action on such positive recommendations for practicable, immediate economies as have been made by its administrative officers and which do not require new legislation before effecting, including such items as consolidation of police stations, centralized and standardized purchasing, standardization of employment in the Law Department and in the offices of the clerk and bailiff of the Municipal Court, abolition of ward lines as a basis of administration of bureau of streets activities, consolidation of visual inspections, establishment of an eight-hour day for city hall employes, reduction of city hall holidays to those generally observed by business concerns, etc.

Survey Finances.

3. That definite action be taken providing for a comprehensive survey for the development of a financial plan appropriation to cover the expenses of this survey be included in the 1918 budget before remedial legislation of the kind sought is requested.

Determine Tax Rate Accordingly.

4. That the rate of additional tax be reduced to meet the actual demonstrated needs of the city after the foregoing steps have been taken.

Reduce Relief Period.

5. That the period for which relief is sought if any, be reduced from two years to one year, inasmuch as there will be a regular session of the Legislature in 1919, which can take care of emergency matters for that year.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EXPENDITURES,
Horace Secrist,
Chairman.

THE MAN WHO CAN MAKE TWO MEMBERS GROW WHERE ONLY ONE GREW BEFORE IS A BENEFactor OF THE CLUB!

SOCIETY EVENT—BULLETIN A DEBUTANTE

Puts on Long Clothes, Does Up Hair and is Now a Weekly Newspaper

"THE town has gone crazy over the publication of bulletins," said a friend when the idea of making the City Club Bulletin a weekly newspaper was announced. It didn't discourage us a bit for we had the idea that the Bulletin could be made an attractive and worthwhile sheet that people would read.

The Bulletin was born away back in 1907. Dr. George Hooker presided at the ceremony and for a few years watched over the infant himself, but later, as his other duties increased, he surrendered this task to other hands. The editors of the Bulletin, since Mr. Hooker, have been Prof. A. R. Hatton, now of the Western Reserve University, Charles T. Hallinan, Victor S. Yarros,

and Jesse F. Steiner (the two latter for short periods only) and the present unworthy occupant of the chair.

But the Bulletin is no longer in the baby class. With this issue it closes its tenth volume and asserts its right to be known as grown up. A little awkwardness is still with us, but we hope to be soon past the "seventeen" age.

The volume which is being closed is a very interesting one. It makes a very creditable compendium of current affairs. It is of course much colored by the war but many other subjects are included. The index below—abbreviated as there is not sufficient space to index all the notes—is an interesting record of the Club year.

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Dinner at night is just as good!

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